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NOTES ON SOME OFFICIALS OF THE SARGONID PERIOD

PART OF A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS
AND LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF SEMITICS)

BY
ALLEN HOWARD GODBEY

CHICAGO
1906

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ABBREVIATIONS.

ABC. = Stevenson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts.*
ABLCL. = Johns, *Assyrian and Babylonian Laws, Contracts, and Letters.*
ABPR. = Meissner, *Alt-Babylonische Privatrecht.*
ADD. = Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents.*
AJSL. = *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.*
AKA. = Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, Vol. I.
AL. = S. A. Smith, *Assyrian Letters.*
AOF. = Winckler, *Alt-Orientalische Forschungen.*
BAS. = *Beiträge zur Assyriologie.*
Br. = Brünnow, *A Classified List.*
CH. = RFHarper, *The Code of Ḫammurabi.*
DB. = Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible.*
DES. = Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Assyria and Babylonia.*
EAH. = E. A. Hoffman Collection in Radau's *EBH.*
EB. = Cheyne-Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica.*
EBA. = Amiaud and Mechineau, *L'Écriture babylonienne et assyrienne.*
EBH. = Radau, *Early Babylonian History.*
HABL. = RFHarper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters.*
HWB. = Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.*
JAOS. = *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JEL. = Johnston, *Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians.*
JRAS. = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
LIH. = King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Ḫammurabi.*
LS. = Lehmann, *Samaš-šum-ukîn.*
MVAG. = *Mittheilungen der Vorder-Asiatischen Gesellschaft.*
OBI. = Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions.*
PEFSt. = *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.*
PSBA. = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.*
RMA. = Thompson, *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh.*
RS. = Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites.*
SAS. Abp. = S. A. Smith, *Die Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals.*
SSO. = Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins.*
Strnbd. = Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonids.*
Strnbk. = Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor.*
Sup. = Meissner, *Supplement zu den assyrischen Wörterbüchern.*
TSBA. = *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology.*
ZA. = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*

NOTES ON SOME OFFICIALS OF THE SARGONID PERIOD.

(Revised from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, January, 1905, and October, 1905.)

It is not to be expected that any exhaustive treatment of this subject can be achieved for years to come. C. H. W. Johns, in his *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, has shown us one field from which much information may be derived, and has done excellent pioneer work in Assyrian official antiquities. It is the present purpose to render more available for the general student the rich material in R. F. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*. The accompanying index is intended to give a list of all the various officials, tradesmen, and men of sacred and learned professions, that are mentioned in the eight volumes of letters now published. It will be followed by excursûs upon different functionaries.

The determinative prefix amêlu is used throughout the letters with very great regularity. But few cases of its omission are noticeable. A rab-so-and-so may sometimes be without it, as in the case of Abnî, the rab BIR of the land of the city of Arpadda, in [221] K. 175, obv. 12. The term piḳittu is also used in a way that leaves one a little uncertain whether or not some functionary is always meant. We have amêl bêl piḳitte, as in [573] K. 1003, obv. 7; bêl piḳitti [608] K. 1136, rv. 9; piḳitte ša bît mâr-šarri ša kutalli, [658] 83-1-18, 81, obv. 9, 10. In the stereotyped formulæ of salutation, we have

ana ^{amêl} piḳitti ša Bêlit parṣi šulmu, in [12] K. 666, obv. 6, 7. The same without the ^{amêl} occurs in [7] K. 601, obv. 4. I do not at present know any other term that affords so much cause for uncertainty. Its occurrence without any determinative prefix is frequent; yet in some of these places a functionary is certainly meant. There may be a few other words without any determinative prefix which really indicate officials; one cannot be positive on this point till every word occurring in the letters is certainly understood.

It is not intended to include in this index gentilic names and adjectives. These belong rather to the geographical data afforded by the letters, which are being compiled by Mr. O. A. Toffteen. There are terms, of course, concerning which there may be a reasonable doubt; and it may be that some have been assigned to the geographical data that should have been included here.

Also, it has been the intention to omit all occurrences of other words with the determinative prefix ^{amêlu} that do not promise anything of importance in relation to the general subject. The word ṣâbê has been omitted from the list, being a purely general term, without any necessary implications of rank. For illustration, we have in [631] K. 1265, obv. 9–13, Ya-ra-pa-a, rab ki-ṣir; Ḫa-tar-a-nu, rab ki-ṣir; Ga-na-bu, Ta-am-ra-nu; puḫur 4 ^{amêl} ṣâbê; yet two of the four are officers.

It will be recognized, then, as advisable that a list should be given here indicating terms systematically excluded from the index. Besides the frequent ^{amêl} ṣâbê, we find ^{amêl} emûḳi-ia or -šu, "a man of my or his troop," *e. g.*, [197] K. 181, obv. 11; amêlu alone, for "a man" or "any man," [55] K. 483, rv. 1, 4; amêl + u-tu for "mankind," [128] K. 650, obv. 10; ^{amêl} mâr-šu = "the man his son," [117] K. 991, rv. 12, ^{amêl} ardu, [9] K. 618, obv. 14; ^{amêl} nakru, or nakrûti, "the enemy," [340] Bu. 91–5–9, 183, obv. 21; ^{amêl} tebiê, "attacking forces," [275] K. 82, obv. 17, rv. 12; ^{amêl} bêlê ḫîṭu, "leaders of rebellion," [460] K. 1250, obv. 15; ^{amêl} parriṣu šû, "that liar," [208] K. 617, obv. 17; ^{amêl} bêl iḫtalliḳâni, "the leader of those who ravage," [771] 83–1–18, 49, rv. 13; ^{amêl} lišânišu, "a man of his speech," [741] S. 807, obv. 5; ^{amêl} mukinnika, "thy supporter," [416] 80–7–19, 19, obv. 6; ^{amêl} kinâtâtikunu, similar to preceding, [37] K. 1039, obv. 7; ^{amêl} ra'mâni, "(those men are not) lovers (of the king my lord)," [277] K. 1066, rv. 8;

amêl zi'râni, "haters," [210] K. 647, rv. 9; amêl bêl dîni'a, "my adversary, prosecutor," [416] 80–7–19, 19, obv. 7; amêl ḫabtûte, "plunderers," [839] 83–1–18, 21, obv. 16; amêl ḫubtu, "prisoner, captive," [280] K. 10, obv. 10; amêl munnabitu, "fugitive," [839] 83–1–18, 21, obv. 16; amêl bêlê ṭâbtia, "my allies, partisans," [281] K. 13, obv. 12, 24; amêl ḫanîu, is for anniu, [787] R^m 55, rv. 6; amêl GIG, might be "sick man," usually ḳadištu, [370] 81–2–4, 49, obv. 14; amêl miḫir, [718] Bu. 91–5–9, 87, rv. 6; amêl mâr-bânû, [280] K. 10, obv. 16; amêl ḳinnišu, etc., "a man of his family," [542] K. 114, rv. 7; amat êkalli, "a female slave of the palace," [99] K. 5466, rv. 13; all passages that merely express family relationships, such as "father," "brother," "sister," etc.; amêl a, in a broken passage, [101] K. 561, rv. 11, perhaps stands for "son." In a few passages there may be scribal errors; but this question is best deferred for the excursûs. It is understood that the foregoing are but specimen references; some of the phrases occur frequently. Their irrelevance to the proposed investigation will be recognized.

Nor has it been deemed within the province of the index to correct the occasional scribal errors. It is preferred to give the reading as it stands, leaving corrections and comments for the excursûs. Anyone will recognize that tur šip-ia, [500] K. 1303, obv. 10, is an error for tur šip-ri-ia; ma-za-si pa-ni, [656] 82–5–22, 168, rv. 8, is the reading in the text for mazazi =manzazi. Tur me-ša-ni occurs in [205] K. 537, obv. 5. I suspect the ša is a defective ra, and that we should read mâr-šiprâni. A.ri, however, for "courier," does not seem to be an error, as one might at first suppose. It is listed by Brünnow, No. 11451. It occurs in amêl a.ri.ka, [208] K. 617, rv. 9. Scribal errors are, on the whole, rare in titular elements of the Letters.

The references given are double: the first number, in brackets, being the number of the letter in Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, while the second is the British Museum number. In the excursûs the Harper Letters are distinguished by a prefixed H.

The order of the officials is that followed by Johns in *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, so far as the data permit. It is hoped that this will facilitate the use of both sets of data by those who may take an interest in the subject. Yet many terms occur which

are not discussed by Johns; these follow immediately after the others, and are arranged in alphabetical order.

The present state of Assyriology leaves us in uncertainty about many terms and words. The last page or so of this index contains terms that are *hapax legomena* in the letters so far published; and their occurrence is of a character that renders it impossible to dogmatize. Frequently all preceding or subsequent connection is lost, and all that can be affirmed at present is that here are phrases to be examined: a few of them may not after all indicate officials or artisans. The compiler of the index has examined these places carefully, and decides that the phrases demand consideration from those interested in the official life of Assyria. It is not advisable to commit one's self further now.

The damaged character of many letters results in the frequent occurrence of the ^{amêl} with the following characters missing. Here and there a restoration might be ventured from the connection; but this has not been attempted in the index. Many are but partially effaced, and when the restoration of such seems safe, it has been given in the index, with properly bracketed parts. But many occur that do not suggest to me any known official, yet are comparatively little damaged. It has been deemed advisable to append an autographed page of these damaged words.

It has not been deemed advisable to attempt any association or grouping of terms in the index, except where the facts are well established. The "messenger," or "courier," for instance, is indicated by a variety of phrases, already well known. But we may have in our data various terms for some other office; *e. g.*, rab ali and ḫazanu might be interchangeable. It has been decided that the index should merely give the data, and leave the discussion of such points to the excursus. On the other hand, it is not intended that an excursus shall be limited in its discussions to the data given in this index. Any attempt to comprehend more clearly the institutions of ancient Assyria and Babylonia must consider something more than the epistolary literature. This work would be facilitated if similar compilations were accessible for other bodies of the cuneiform literature; and it is to be hoped such may be eventually available. As to the actual range of excursûs upon various functionaries, it is clear to any student of the cuneiform records that such may involve the whole field of

Assyrian and Babylonian linguistic, scientific, historical, religious, civil, and social development.

The custom, very generally followed hitherto, of indicating ideographic or Sumerian expressions by capitals has been abandoned. While helpful to the young student, it does not seem necessary for those who are likely to avail themselves of this index. Each form of the term has been given in transliteration; the various spellings, and the occurrences with pronominal suffixes, that the lexicographers and grammarians may find their tasks facilitated. But few of the functionaries are of a character that render possessive suffixes probable in the letters. The "courier" shows more variety of terms, and more occurrences with suffixes than any other; almost as many as all others combined; and I have questioned if this list were worth the space, since we already know what may be expected of the average courier or messenger.

In the transliteration, effort has been made to indicate clearly how each spelling is written. The capital catch-word endeavors, where possible, to be phonetically accurate; in detailing the citations, I have intended to suggest the syllables used. Thus, under amêl Itû'a, the scribe has choice of two characters for the syllable tu: the ordinary ud, and the heavier tu, which I have uniformly marked tú, where occurring.

A few other terms, fairly well understood, have been included in the index: such as paršumu, ḫiâlu, šêbu, ummânu, agrûtú. Their occurrence is not frequent, and investigation produced reason to suspect a particular technical sense in some of them.

amêl TURTÂNU, TARTÂNU: amêl tur-tan, [205] K. 537, rv. 6, [571] K. 998, obv. 11; amêl tur-tan-nu, [682] K. 508, obv. 8; amêl tur-tan-ni, [649] 81–2–4, 110, obv. 4, rv. 3, [373] 82–5–22, 99, obv. 8, [428] 83–1–18, 25, rv. 2, [684] 80–7–19, 37, rv. 3; amêl tur-ta-nu, [568] K. 956, rv. 13, [795] Bu. 91–5–9, 107, obv. 5; amêl tur-ta-nu-šu, [197] K. 181, rv. 1, [492] 81–2–4, 60, obv. 8; amêl tur-ta-nu II-u (=šanû), [144] K. 194, obv. 13; amêl tur-ta-ni, [71] K. 1113 +K. 1229, obv. 10; amêl tar-ta-nu, [393] 80–7–19, 25, rv. 8, [701] S. 1338, obv. 8.

amêl NÂGIRU: amêl lagar, [281] K. 13, obv. 10, [576] K. 1009, obv. 9; amêl lagar ê-gal, [112] K. 485, obv. 1, [408] Rm 2, 1, rv. 27, [409] Rm 2, 2, obv. 2, [781] K. 823, rv. 2; amêl na-gi-ri, [521] 83–1–18, 4, rv. 16; amêl nêr ê-gal, [373] 82–5–22, 99, obv. 10, [785] K. 13142, obv. 5, [253] K. 1175+1207, obv. 8 (?).

amêl BI.LUL: [322] K. 663, obv. 8; amêl rab bi-lul, [194] K. 665, rv. 4, [353] 82-5-22, 169, rv. 11, [373] 82-5-22, 99, obv. 12, [388] Rm 2, 463, obv. 10, [585] K. 1098, obv. 3, [646] 79-7-8, 292, obv. 6; rab bi-lul, [659] Bu. 89-42-6, 17, obv. 6; amêl rab bi- . . . . , [767] 83-1-18, 75, obv. 9.

amêl MU, (NUḪATIMMU?): [43] K. 122, rv. 1, 6, [322] K. 663, obv. 10; [754] K. 5457, obv. 18, [699] 81-2-4, 468, obv. 3(?); amêl rab mu, [274] K. 81, obv. 19, [357] S. 1368, obv. 9, [555] K. 677, obv. 5 . . . . rab mu, [143] K. 584, obv. 11.

amêl RAB.SE.GAR, [408] Rm 2, 1, rv. 18.

amêl RAB.GAR.MEŠ, [43] K. 122, rv. 2, 18.

amêl SE.GAR, [43] K. 122, rv. 12.

amêl RAB ŠÂḲÛ: amêl rab šak, [64] K. 550, obv. 10, [95] K. 1151, obv. 6, [173] K. 686, obv. 5, [283] K. 597, obv. 1, [484] 81-7-27, 33, obv. 15, [568] K. 956, rv. 16, [709] 80-7-19, 67, obv. 3; amêl rab ša-ki-e, [353] 82-5-22, 169, rv. 9.

amêl PAṬAR PARZILLI: amêl gir-an-bar, [85] K. 613, rv. 7.

amêl ZAKKÛ: amêl zak-ku-u, [143] K. 584, obv. 6, [459] K. 1141, rv. 3; amêl za-ku-u, [311] K. 630, rv. 3, [633] K. 1366, obv. 17, [685] 81-2-4, 96, obv. 4.

(amêl) ITU'A: amêl I-tu-'-u, [138] K. 469, rv. 11; amêl I-tu-u, [506] K. 678, rv. 15; amêl I-tu-', [572] K. 1001, obv. 10, [685] 81-2-4, 96, rv. 22; amêl I-tú-'-a-a, [201] K. 690, obv. 5, [242] K. 11148, rv. 16, [388] Rm 2, 463, obv. 7, [419] 83-1-18, 24, obv. 10, 12; amêl I-tú, ... , [147] K. 1170, rv. 5; amêl I-tú-'-ê, [506] K. 678, rv. 10; amêl I-tu-a-a, [424] S. 760, rv. 2, 10; amêl I-tu-'-a-a-e-a, [482] 82-5-22, 104, obv. 6; amêl U-tu-'-a-a, [349] Rm 78, rv. 3.

amêl BA, [645] Rm 2, 464, rv. 4.

amêl ŠELAPPÂ, [471] 80-7-19, 41, obv. 17.

amêl PUR.KUL, [429] Rm 69, obv. 9, [531] 81-2-4, 50, rv. 13.

amêl BARÛ, amêl BARÛTU: amêl ḫal [773] S. 152, obv. 7, [808] Bu. 91-5-9, 113, rv. 6, [854] K. 1158, rv. 10, [391] 83-1-18, 2, obv. 18 (?); amêl ḫal-meš, [33] K. 572, obv. 6; amêl ḫal-u-tu, [755] 83-1-18, 122, rv. 18.

amêl MAŠMAŠU: amêl maš-maš, [23] K. 602, obv. 21, [24] K. 626, obv. 11, 14, rv. 5, [167] K. 582, rv. 16, [361] 81-2-4, 58, rv. 10, [670] K. 12, rv. 10; amêl maš-maš-meš, [1] K. 167, rv. 8, [33] K. 572, obv. 7, [118] K. 1026, rv. 5.

amêl MAḪḪÛ: amêl maḫ, [205] K. 537, rv. 4, [466] S. 51, rv. 4; amêl maḫ-meš, [90] K. 594, obv. 13, [205] K. 537, obv. 3, 14, rv. 1, [252] K. 525, obv. 4, rv. 13, [306] K. 622, obv. 3, 14, [680] 83-1-18, 63, obv. 8; amêl maḫ-meš-ni, [196] K. 125, obv. 8, 13, [252] K. 525, rv. 7, 15.

amêl MUKÎL APPÂTE: amêl mu-kil su pa-meš, [65] K. 629, obv. 21, [211] K. 662, obv. 4, [445] K. 724, obv. 7, [568] K. 956, rv. 20, [611] K. 1143, obv. 2; . . . . . su pa-meš, [609] K. 1140, obv. 4, rv. 7; amêl mu-kil su a-pa-a-ni, [633] K. 1366, rv. 21.

amêl MURIBBÂNU, [458] K. 1122, obv. 6.

amêl RÊ'Û: amêl sib, [639] K. 8390, obv. 10, [716] K. 31, rv. 9, [726] 80–7–19, 24, obv. 7, 12, [727] 83–1–18, 67, obv. 7, [845] K. 671, obv. 10. amêl sib-meš, [75] K. 546, obv. 9, [268] K. 514, obv. 11, rv. 6, [633] K. 1366, rv. 13, [639] K. 8390, rv. 1.
amêl RAB.SIB.MEŠ, [336] K. 644, rv. 5.
amêl ŠA ḪUṬARI, [445] K. 724, obv. 3.
amêl UŠ.KIB.SI: amêl uš kib-si-a-ni, [526] K. 628, rv. 2.
amêl ŠA ELI ALI, [90] K. 594, rv. 13, [710] 81–2–4, 87, obv. 6; amêl ša muḫ-ḫi ali, [530] 80–7–19, 40, obv. 13.
amêl ŠA ELI BÎTI, [343] 83–1–18, 18, obv. 9; amêl ša eli bîti ša bit-ḫal, [577] K. 1010, obv. 6; amêl ša eli bît-a-nu, [855] K. 1226, obv. 1; amêl ša eli bît-a-ni, [568] K. 956, rv. 18.
amêl RAB ḲAḲULÂTE: amêl rab ḳa-ḳu-la-te, [152] K. 1101+K. 1221, obv. 8.
amêl ḲÊPU: amêl til-la gid-da-meš, [542] K. 114, obv. 8; amêl ni-gab, [847] 83–1–18, 115, rv. 5; amêl ki-pa-nu, [542] K. 114, obv. 17; amêl ki-pa-ni-šu, [524] K. 588, obv. 10; amêl ki-pi, [516] 81–7–27, 31, rv. 1; ḳi-pi, [95] K. 1151, rv. 7; amêl ki-i-pi, [214] K. 831, rv. 14; amêl ḳi-e-pu, [88] K. 507, obv. 7, [476] 83–1–18, 5, obv. 28, [703] K. 8989, obv. 5, [868] 81–2–4, 119, obv. 5; amêl ḳi-pu, [703] K. 8989, obv. 9; amêl ḳi-e-pi, [169] K. 997, obv. 8; amêl ḳi-ba-a-ni, [442] K. 543, obv. 14; amêl ḳi-pa-a-ni, [437] K. 168, rv. 9.
amêl RAB ḪALṢU: amêl rab al ḫal-ṣu, [343] 83–1–18, 18, obv. 3.
amêl RAB URÂTE: amêl rab u-ra-te, [630] K. 1264, obv. 13. amêl ra[b] . . . . (?) [623] K. 1212, obv. 1.
amêl KA.TIN(?), ḲATINNU(?): amêl ḳa-tin-ni šarri, [74] K. 185, obv. 11.
amêl SUKALLU: amêl luḫ, [70] K. 1070, obv. 1, 4, rv. 4, [132] K. 655, obv. 1, 3, 5, rv. 10, [235] K. 13016, obv. 1. 3, rv. 5, [253] K. 1175+1207, obv. 8(?), [327] K. 517, rv. 2, [424] S. 760, obv. 12, rv. 12, [473] 81–2–4, 65, rv. 11, [505] 81–2–4, 95, obv. 1, 3, 4, 6, [716] K. 31, rv. 11, [748] K. 5474, obv. 2, [781] K. 823, obv. 2, 4, 5, rv. 7, [805] S. 267, obv. 2, 5, (10?), 12, [874] Bu. 89–4–26, 31, obv. 12, [844] K. 986, obv. 2, 9; amêl luḫ dan-nu, [568] K. 956, rv. 12; amêl luḫ II-u (=šanû), [568] K. 956, rv. 15.
amêl SARTÎNU: amêl sa-ár-te-nu, [716] K. 31, rv. 11, 15, 27; amêl sar-tin-nu, [46] K. 939*a*, rv. 14 [568] K. 956, rv. 14; amêl sar-tin-ni, [441] K. 534, obv. 18.
amêl RAB DAN.DAN (KAL.LAB?): amêl rab dan-dan-meš, [380] Rm 2, 3, obv. 5.
amêl MAṢṢARU: amêl en-nun, [197] K. 181, rv. 7, 23; amêl en-nun bîti ili, [493] 83–1–18, 13, rv. 11; amêl ša en-nun, [99] K. 5466, rv. 17, [353] 82–5–22, 169, rv. 19, [410] Rm 2, 4, obv. 5, rv. 9, 13; en en-nun, [238] K. 1107, rv. 5.
amêl RAB ḪANŠÂ: amêl rab L, [251] K. 506, obv. 4, 15, 20, 27, rv. 5, 7.
amêl RAB ŠIṬIRTE(?): amêl rab u-te, [432] D. T. 220, obv. 2, [816] K. 88, obv. 3; amêl rab u-ti, [423] 83–1–18, 12, obv. 3, [829] K. 297,

obv. 3; amêl rab u-gi (error for te), [671] K. 678, obv. 3; amêl rab u-meš-te, [867] 81–2–4, 94, obv. 5.

amêl RAB KARMANI: amêl rab kar-man, [43] K. 122, obv. 18; amêl gar-man(?)-meš, [155] K. 1235, obv. 4, 7.

amêl RAB KARANI: amêl rab geštin, [42] K. 14, rv. 11.

amêl RAB KÂRI: amêl rab ka-a-ri, [467] S. 456, rv. 18.

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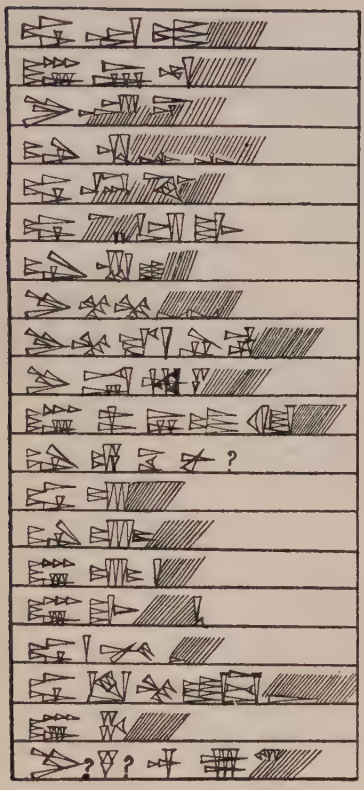
amêl KITKUTU (= KITKITTU?): amêl mâr ki-it-ku-te-ê, [414] Rm 77, obv. 11.

amêl LA: (error for APIN?) [845] K. 671, obv. 10.
amêl MAKTU, amêl MAKTÛTU: amêl ma-ak-tu, [343] 83-1-18, 18, rv. 3; amêl ma-ak-tú, [434] Bu. 89-4-26, 163, obv. 20; amêl ma-ak-tú-tú, [792] 83-1-18, 52, rv. 7, [794] 83-1-18, 150, rv. 12; amêl ma-ak-tú-tu, [343] 83-1-18, 18, obv. 13; amêl ma-ak-tú-te, [140] K. 518, obv. 6, rv. 5; amêl ma-ak-tú-u-te, [434] Bu. 89-4-26, 163, obv. 17, rv. 19.
amêl MA.LA.ZIZ(?), [701] S. 1338, rv. 1.
amêl MAN: [873] Bu. 89-4-26, 20, rv. 7.
amêl MAR ÊKALLI: mâr êkalli, [512] K. 858, obv. 5, 6, 14.
amêl MUBU: amêl mu-bu-u, [467] S. 456, obv. 24; nišê mu-bu, [506] K. 678, obv. 16 (*cf.* amêl rab alâni mu-bu, [506] K. 678, rv. 5).
amêl NA.U.A.NI, [585] K. 1098, rv. 2.
sal NA.GIS.MÁ.MES, [103] K. 1189, obv. 8.
amêl NÂKISU: amêl na-ki-su-te, [484] 81-7-27, 33, obv. 11.
amêl SAKLU: amêl sa-ak-lu, [437] K. 168, rv. 15; amêl sak-lu-te, [325] K. 571, obv. 10, 13, 16.
amêl SU.ḪI.IN.TÚ.ŠU, [564] K. 937, obv. 16.
amêl PI.E? [812] 82-5-22, 93, rv. 20.
amêl PARITU: amêl pa-ri-ṭu, [812] 82-5-22, 93, rv. 16.
amêl PARŠAMU: amêl par-šu-mu, [3] K. 492, rv. 3; amêl par-šu-me, [9] K. 618, obv. 15; amêl par-ša-mu-ti, [168] K. 63*b*, rv. 15; amêl par-ša-mu-te, [2] K. 183, obv. 16.
amêl ḲAŠTI: amêl gis-ban-meš, [267] K. 462, obv. 14, rv. 13, [754] K. 5457, obv. 10, 28; nišê ban, [617] K. 1167, obv. 10; nišê gis-ban, [617] K. 1167, rv. 3.
amêl ḲADÛ: amêl ḳa-di-e, [462] K. 1374, obv. 10.
amêl ḲADIŠTU: amêl gig, [447] K. 821, rv. 13, [370] 81-2-4, 49, obv. 14.
amêl RAB ARDÂNI: amêl rab nitag-meš, [208] K. 617, rv. 6 (?), [533] 83-1-18, 44, rv. 1, 12, 14, [633] K. 1366, rv. 15.
amêl RAB ṬANÎBU: amêl rab ṭa-ni-be, [114] K. 538, rv. 1, [876] Bu. 91-5-9, 144, obv. 12, rv. 4.
amêl RAB BIRTI: amêl rab bir-ti, [422] Rm 215, obv. 8.
amêl RA.I.'AN-NU, [521] 83-1-18, 4, obv. 21.
amêl RAB.DIŠ.ŠI: (captain of 1,000?) Bu. 89-4-26, 162, rv. 7.
(amêl) RAB.BIR, [221] K. 175, obv. 12.
amêl RAŠÛ(?): amêl ra-ša-ni, [418] S. 1028, rv. 6; amêlr ra-ša-a-ni, [518] 83-1-18, 27, rv. 7.
amêl RAB PILKÂNU: amêl rab pil-ka-ni, [91] K. 620, obv. 14, rv. 4; rab pil-ka-ni, [512] K. 858, obv. 4.
amêl RADIÂNU, [102] K. 657, obv. 9, rv. 11.
amêl RIDÛ: amêl ri-di-ia, [866] 81-2-4, 93, obv. 11, rv. 8; amêl ri-di-ia-a-meš, [866] 81-2-4, 93, obv. 10; amêl ri-di- . . . , *ibid.*, obv. 13.
amêl RI-'-MI(?), [262] K. 607, rv. 9.
amêl RA-SI-TU, [848] K. 508, rv. 5.

amêl ŠA BÎTI II-E, [801] K. 13077, obv. 6.
amêl ŠU.GAB.A.MEŠ, [755] 83-1-18, 122, obv. 16; amêl rab amêl rab šu-gab-a-meš, [755] 83-1-18, 122, obv. 6.
amêl ŠA PÂNI BÎT ḲÂTÂ: [875] Bu. 89-4-26, 71, obv. 5.
amêl ŠA PÂNI MÂTI: (= ša pâni êkalli) [467] S. 456, rv. 11.
amêl ŠÊBU, ŠIBÛTU: amêl ši-bu-u, [790] S. 1392, rv. 4; amêl ši-bu-tu, [202] K. 83, rv. 15, [210] K. 647, obv. 2, [576] K. 1009, obv. 2, rv. 9, [753] 82-5-2, 111, obv. 6.
amêl ŠAG.UŠ(?).MEŠ.TE, [175] K. 614, obv. 7.
amêl ŠIḪLU (ŠI'LU?): amêl ši-iḫ-lu, [154] K. 653, rv. 8.
amêl SAL.UM: (should it be ši-um, abarakku?) [433] 79-7-8, 138, rv. 9; [712] S. 1223, obv. 5.
amêl ŠAMALLÛ: amêl šagan-lal-meš, [65] K. 629, rv. 6.
amêl ŠA SA.GA.TE, [167] K. 582, obv. 17 (*cf.* sa-ga-a-te, [75] K. 546, obv. 7).
amêl ŠÎMU: amêl šam-meš, [99] K. 5466, rv. 12; tur-meš šam-meš, [99] K. 5466, rv. 10; amêl meš šam-meš, [99] K. 5466, obv. 11.
amêl ŠA ŠAPTI, or ZIKNI(?): amêl ša sú-meš, [144] K. 194, obv. 11.
amêl ŠARNUPPU: amêl ša-ár-nu-up-pu, [281] K. 13, rv. 12, 15, 18.
amêl ŠATAMMU: amêl šà-tam, [412] 48-7-20, 115, obv. 15, [437] K. 168, obv. 6, 24, [476] 83-1-18, 5, obv. 28, rv. 9, 13; amêl šà-tam-meš, [437] K. 168, rv. 8; amêl šà-tam-u-ti, [437] K. 168, rv. 15.
amêl TARGUMÂNU: amêl tar-gu-ma-nu, [387] S. 1045, rv. 5.
amêl TARBIÂNU: amêl tar-bi-a-ni, [127] K. 616, rv. 4.
amêl TIK.EN.NA: amêl tik-en-na, [327] K. 517, obv. 2, [328] K. 638, obv. 2, [344] 83-1-18, 28, obv. 2, [438] K. 177, rv. 11, [447] K. 821, obv. 8, [540] K. 87, obv. 11, [542] K. 114, obv. 11; amêl tik-en-na-meš, [540] K. 87, obv. 4.

A group of women in [527] K. 830 are described by terms that may be gentilic; but some rank or employment seems to me the more probable:

sal AR-RA-BA-TI: obv. 3, 6, 9.
sal RAB.TI: (= rabâti?) obv. 4.
sal BI-NI-TI: obv. 5.
sal TU-'-A-TI: obv. 5.
sal HU-LU-UT-TI: obv. 6.
sal NA.MIR.TI: rv. 2, 16.



[695] K. 1589, obv. 6.
[551] K. 634, rv. 3.
[256] K. 1202, obv. 4.
[583] K. 1098, obv. 1.
[759] D. T. 63, obv. 9.
[145] K. 910, obv. 7.
[476] 83-1-18, 5, obv. 21.
[272] K. 4736, rv. 2.
[795] Bu. 91-5-9, 107, obv. 8.
[815] 48-7-20, 116, obv. 17.
[745] 82-5-22, 141, rv. 4.
[476] 83-1-18, 5, rv. 24.
[566] K. 942, obv. 1.
[147] K. 1170, rv. 10, 12.
[385] Rm. 2, 6, obv. 14.
[369] S. 1940, obv. 13.
[438] K. 177, rv. 23.
[333] K. 651, rv. 2.
[442] K. 543, obv. 2.
[795] Bu. 91-5-9, 107, obv. 11

THE ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN ^{amêl}TU.BÎTI.

Johns, *ADD.* II, p. 106, in discussing this officer, inclines to the view that he is not a temple official of any kind, but merely an occupant of temple lands, charged with certain dues to the temple. This opinion he would support by reference to royal endowments of the temples, in which connection the ^{amêl}TU.bîti is sometimes mentioned. But this is inconclusive. Such connection with temple-endowments may imply nothing more than the modern pastor's connection with the manse and glebe, or parsonage, or parish house. There is further the objection that in the Cultustafel of Sippara, also mentioned by Johns, the most important provisions for the reorganization of the temple services are made kî pî ^{amêl}TU.bîti, "according to the instructions of the TU.bîti." Further, instead of being taxed for the maintenance of the temple, provision is made for his support. He receives five shares of the daily receipts as against two shares received by the naš paṭri. In H. 167, K. 582, rv. 17, *sqq.*, we may compare the daily allotment for a mašmašu, four shares, and for a pirḫinu, two shares. There is also an ^{amêl}TU.bîti II-u in the Cultustafel, a species of classification improbable in the case of mere tenants or taxpayers. We also find ^{amêl}TU.bîti who do not appear to be connected with the temple, and are probably palace officials. In various places we find them spoken of in a way that suggests high rank. I do not see how to reconcile the various data, except upon the theory that the TU.bîti was a great official. Accepting the reading erêbu for TU as the key to the solution, we may find him to be the ^{amêl}ša pâni ni-ri-bi, as written syllabically in H. 875, Bu. 89–4–26, 71, obv. 7. This may be preferable to the reading êrib bîti cited by Johns. That nîrib rather than êrib is used in reference to the entrance of a structure of any kind, is shown by numerous passages; *cf. HWB.*, p. 127. That we must understand the officer in question to be something more than a mere porter or janitor, at least much more than is expressed by our modern conceptions

of, and associations with these terms, will appear from the following data.

In H. 512, K. 528, we have a letter that is suggestive. The writer does not state his office, but, though addressing the mayor of the palace, he does not call him "my lord." Such mode of address clearly indicates that he is of higher rank than the recipient of the letter.

Order of Nabû-zêr-lîšir to the mayor of the palace: (Admit) m Nabû-šarḫû-ikîša; m Zêr-Ištar, a chief repairer(?) (*HWB.*, 527, Johns, *ADD.* II, p. 174; Van Gelderen, *BAS.* IV, p. 532); m Ubbâ (one Arabian)(?) a palace employee (son of the palace); m Mûṣurâ (one Egyptian)(?) a palace employee; the wife of the rab-mâti (mayor of the palace); three sons of m Nabû-zêr-lîšir; the wife of m Nabû-šarḫû-iḳîša; two daughters of m Nabû-zêr-lîšir, (and) his daughter-in-law.
The 8th day of Tammuz.
m Nabû-zêr-lîšir to (any) son of the palace.
Total, fourteen persons admitted.

It would seem that we here have an ancient pass ticket. The writer furnishes an order of admission to various persons who wish to enter the palace enclosure. Addressed primarily to the mayor of the palace, it is countersigned at the bottom, authorizing admission by any "son of the palace" who may be on duty at the gate when the ticket is presented. The note was written rapidly, the determinative amêlu being omitted in some places; and hence there is uncertainty about the third and fourth names in the list. The plural sign is omitted throughout, and there is an error of two in the total as the letter stands in Harper's text. It is to be noticed that six of the persons mentioned are members of the writer's family, and one is the wife of the mayor of the palace to whom the order is addressed.[1] Two persons are palace officials of some type. It would appear, then, that even persons prominent in the social circle of the palace required, if they had been outside its precincts, a special order for their re-admission, and that there was a person authorized to issue such tickets; perhaps an amêl ša pâni nîribi.

In H. 511, K. 654, we have a letter from a man of the same name, Nabû-zêr-lîšir, written, however, in the Babylonian script. He reports a number of things—garments, gold, silver, horses, sheep, etc.—for Abu-êrba "of the king's seed" and his

[1] The cases cited by Johns, *ADD.* II, p. 157, make it appear that rab mâti and rab êkalli are equivalent titles.

wife, all of which seem to be consigned to his charge in the palace (dib-bu na-aṣ-ru-ti ša ^{m}Nabû-zêr-lîšir ina êkalli du-bu-ub). If this person is the writer of H. 512, we should have some further suggestion as to the rigid supervision he would exercise over everything entering the palace.

H. 475, 83–1–18, 3, is a short but suggestive letter, probably from Ibašši-ilu, written in the Babylonian character:

> To the king, my lord, thy servant (Ibašši-ilu). May Nabû and Marduk be gracious to the king, my lord. Referring to Iddin-aḫû, and Ina-ḳîbi-Bêl, his brother, the TU.bîti: According as the letter of the king my lord gave orders to me, viz., send them those carpenters —now I will send them unto the king my lord.

Apparently the two officers named have made a requisition for carpenters for some purpose, and the king has sent word to Ibašši-ilu to supply the needed men. The inference is natural that alterations or repairs of the temple may have been under the supervision of the TU.bîti, and this inference we shall find supported by other data to be cited. The two officers named also appear in another important rôle; *cf. infra* H. 496. In the meantime we may compare the change in organization made by Joash, 2 Kings 12:4 *sqq*. It is to be observed there that so long as the chief priests, those officiating about the altar, handled the temple receipts, the house of Yahweh was in bad repair, and there were no available funds. Only when the matter was taken out of their hands and placed in charge of "the priests, the keepers of the threshold," was the house put in proper condition. The system adopted, the subdivision and distribution of priestly functions, is an interesting parallel to the Assyrian method. Modern critical views upon the relative importance and the chronological priority of priest and Levite may require a slight modification. Some such assignment to special duty would be necessary in the nature of the case, even though all alike were called "the priests, the Levites." 1 Chron. 9:17–29, will be reflected in the further study of the TU.bîti.

It would seem that the ^{amêl}TU.bîti was prone to make alterations in the temple interior without consulting anyone. The letter H. 493, 83–1–18, 13, is from Ašur-rîṣûa, a priest of Ninib, who is not pleased with what has been done. The purport of this broken letter is clear enough. During the reign of the king's father the TU.bîti of Ninib had altered the golden orna-

ments of the head of Ninib. At the time of writing, a company of workmen are employed in cutting strips of silver from the walls. The priest begs that the king will stop the work, and remarks that he himself has not been consulted, though he thinks himself "their brother" in such matters. With this we may compare H. 468, Rm. 217. Some Babylonians complain to the king that Ḫulala, a TU.bîti of Šamaš, has come down and carried off "a sky[2] of gold" from Êsagila. What action the priests took with reference to the matter is illegible. Some of the people are incensed, and say that they are no longer safe; that they will be made like the city of Gana. Such stripping of costly decorations from temples, to beautify Assyria, may have been one of the causes of Babylonian revolts from Assyrian domination.

To these evidences of the authority of the TU.bîti in the matter of repairing or altering the temples, we may add Rm. III, 105, a broken cylinder, published by Winckler, *AOF.* I, pp. 256 *sqq.* It comes from the period of civil war in Babylonia, near the middle of the eighth century B. C. The inscription is of one Nabû-šum-imbi, who tells us that he is a nišakku and a TU.bîti of Nabû, as well as šâḳû (Winckler, NIN.ku) of Borsippa. He records his restoration of the temple, which was damaged during the civil war. Nabûšumiddina, a son of Dainî-Nabû, and a TU.bîti of Nabû, had made a night attack upon the temple in Borsippa, which Nabûšumimbi was holding with an armed force. The pious Nabûšumimbi prayed to Nabû until sunrise, and as a result the enemy were beaten off. The successful combatant expresses his gratitude to Nabû by repairing the temple.

Passing from this relation of the TU.bîti to the repairs or alterations of the temple, we find another interesting feature of his office. Iddinaḫû and Ina-ḳîbi-Bêl, two officials already mentioned in H. 475, appear in this important function in H. 496, K. 474. Ibašši-ilu writes to notify the king that the third of Elul is the day for the arraying of Bêl, and that the opening of the great gate of the temple takes place upon the fourth.

[2] AN. E., the usual mode of writing šamê in the letters. I doubt its being a plural of "God," as this would not be in accord with the epistolary usage. Moreover, Êsagila is the residence of Marduk, and we should hardly expect miscellaneous idols therein, judging from the complaint against Nabonidus in the Cyrus cylinder. Further, would an official of the Šamaš cult have use for images from the Marduk temple? He would, of course, have use for the gold.

Iddinaḫû and Ina-ḳîbi-Bêl, the TU.bîti are, as the king knows, the persons properly in charge of those ceremonies. The writer asks that they be sent, and that they may stand with him on the day of the opening of the gate. It is probable, then, that they were expected to pass upon the dress of the worshipers as well as that of Bêl, when they stood with Ibašši-ilu. The position of Ibašši-ilu himself I do not know. In other letters of this group, HH. 496–501, we find him reporting that the king's orders for beds, coronets for Anû, and other temple fittings, have been filled. Since the data already given show the TU.bîti to be connected with such matters, and since in the letter under consideration Ibašši-ilu wishes two well-known threshold-keepers to stand with him on the great day of the opening of the gate of Bêl, he may have been such an official himself. He may also be identifiable with one of two men of his name prominent in Thompson's *RMA*.

These suggestions concerning the functions of this official recall the Cultustafel. Col. V, 26 *sqq.*, specifies, "and furniture of the interior[3] according to the instruction of the two ^{amêl}TU.bîti-MEŠ." The king's share of the daily expense (*cf.* 2 Chron. 31:3) is the food for the priests, and "two shares according to the instructions of the two ^{amêl}TU.bîti;" then follows the list of clothing provided. Special garments are required for the seventh of Nisan, the tenth of Iyyar, the third of Elul, the seventh of Tišrit, the fifteenth of Marchesvan, and the fifteenth of Adar: altogether six festal robes each year given by the king. The interesting features in these details are the evident authority of the TU.bîti, and the fact that the third of Elul requires a special festal garment for the servitor of Šamaš, as it does in the letter last quoted for the servitor of Bêl. In H. 338, 82–5–22, 98 Mâr-Ištar also discusses ceremonies for Bêl and Marduk upon the third of Elul, and the opening of the gate is mentioned (*cf.* Van Gelderen, *BAS.* IV, p. 533). We may compare with these specifications for particular garments upon occasions of unusual significance, Jehu's order: "Bring forth vestments for the priests of Baal" (2 Kings 10:22). In the twenty-third verse is an order for special scrutiny of the assembly, that only duly qualified worshipers may be within.

[3] U-na-at lib-bi is not translated by Jeremias, *BAS.* I, p. 275; *cf.* u-na-a-te ḫurâṣi kaspi sipirri parzilli iṣê u abnê êpuš, from an Ašurbânipal inscription, cited by R. F. Harper, HEBRAICA, X (1894), 198.

This may be parallel to the request of Ibašši-ilu that the two wardens may assist him in the great gate upon the festal day. In Ezekiel's code we observe that the priests must leave their vestments in the side chambers, not being allowed to come among the laity wearing their official apparel (Ezek. 42:13, 14; 44:19). The Levitical code (Exod. 38:4) will readily suggest itself; but till we know precisely what the Babylonian or Assyrian robes were, we cannot undertake a comparative study of Jewish and Mesopotamian priestly apparel. But it seems clear from the cuneiform data so far that the great guardian of the threshold was responsible for the proper preparation of every one who would enter the temple. Only thus could the perfection of each rite be guaranteed (observe the conditions and reservations in the oracles of the Sun-god); and only thus could the temple be kept free from defilement. The post was no sinecure, and we shall see that the warden needed to know all that occurred within the temple as well as what was approaching from without.

Our data also allow the conclusion that the average temple had two chief officers of this type; and this may imply two gates of the temple in daily use, besides the great gate opened upon special occasions when the presence of the king was expected. We observe that there are two threshold keepers in the Cultustafel; two are called for by Ibašši-ilu; in the narrative of Nabûšumimbi two rival threshold keepers are warring for the possession of the temple; in the Cultustafel one of the two officers is an amêl TU.bîti II-u. We may venture the suggestion, then, that Ezek. 44:1–4; 46:1–3, 8–12, give us some idea of the arrangement of a Babylonian temple (*cf.* also 1 Chron. 31:14 for "the porter toward the east") and of the movement of the throng upon a festal occasion, under the supervision of the TU.bîti. Further questions concerning the arrangement of the Babylonian temple will be considered in a separate paper. For the modification of Ezekiel's plan see Josephus, *Ant.*, XV, II, 5, and 1 Chron. 9:17–28.

As showing the familiarity of the TU.bîti with all that occurred within the temple, the letters of Akkullanu are peculiarly interesting. This writer is shown in H. 539, K. 17, rv. 14, 15, to be a TU.bîti of the temple of Ašur. In H. 16, K. 428, in a brief report to the king, too broken to be intelligible, he is associated with Adadšumuṣur, Arad-Êa, and Ištaršumêreš. This places his activity in Esarhaddon's reign, a fact further supported

by H. 43, K. 122. His prominence will be more clearly realized when that of his associates is remembered. Their activity is noticeable in the excursus upon the Esarhaddon succession. The letters of Akkullanu, HH. 42–50, 429, 678–681, suggest that he is the proper person to address for information upon almost any matter connected with the temple, or its service.

H. 42, K. 14, has been translated by Van Gelderen, *BAS.* IV, p. 518. Akkullanu reports that on the third of the month (Elul again?), Ašur and Bêlit went forth in peace and returned in peace. Goblets and drink for the king have been duly prepared, and rites which had ceased through neglect have been re-established; but the ṣuraru-wine for the month Tišrit has not been provided for Ašur. The chief vintner, his deputy, and his secretary have alike neglected the matter.

The next letter, H. 43, K. 122, is the most interesting of all. Van Gelderen, *BAS.* IV, p. 513, has given a translation, and Johns gives a general view of it, *ADD.* II, p. 105, and a complete translation *ABLCL.*, p. 377, changing his former view slightly. In both he differs somewhat from Van Gelderen. I am not sure that the reverse of the letter is perfectly understood. But the bearing upon the duties of the TU.bîti is in no wise affected. In the first part of the letter, he replies to an inquiry of the king informing him of the governors, cities, and provinces that have neglected to send the regular offerings to Ašur. Nineteen are named; and as several of these are certainly provinces outside of Assyria itself, we may have a sidelight upon the unwillingness of the Hebrew prophet to see his king maintain either hostile or dependent relations with Assyria.[4]

The reverse of the tablet reports the facts concerning two priests (Van Gelderen, "scribes"), who had been consecrated by Sennacherib, but had lost their positions through some ceremonial mishaps, "not great sins." One is "priest of the bake-room,"[5] shaved when he was young. The other is chief of the larder, or almost a "head-waiter" for the temple tables. Each seems to have been deposed for some inattention to proper shaving

[4] Compare the frequent complaints concerning rebels in the cuneiform historical inscriptions. "They had had not sent to inquire after my peace—they scorned the solemn oaths by the great gods."

[5] With this priest of the bake-house, compare the little cooking chambers flanking Ezekiel's temple (after Babylonian models (?)), 46 : 19–24, and the chambers and those in charge of things baked in pans, 1 Chron. 9:31; 23:28, 29; Lev. 2:5–7; 6:21; 7:9.

(ina la šaḫ-sa-su-te la gal-lu-ub).[6] Thus apart from the information the letter gives concerning the TU.bîti, it is of interest as suggesting some exacting ritual of the Assyrian priesthood. Apparently, cuttings of the "corners of the head and beard" were seriously regarded. As for the TU.bîti, he is evidently expected to know the past history of the temple as well as current events. One would infer his familiarity with the temple library, or record room. The record of the neglect of stated sacrifices by certain governors recalls the frequent complaints of the Hebrew narratives, and the list of nobles bringing offerings,[7] in Numb. 7.

H. 185, K. 1396 is interesting after this report concerning delinquent governors. Nabûbêlšunu tells Ašurmudammiḳ that he has been wronged by Akkullanu. The latter has obtained twelve or thirteen mana of silver from Ašurmudammiḳ, for the breaches of the shrines of Ašur and Bêlit. Nabûbêlšunu tells his friend to make a memorandum of it, and to plan for its recovery. It would seem that Akkullanu, when charged with repairing the temple, was inclined to somewhat vigorous measures for securing the necessary funds.

H. 44, K. 604 gives us no information. Akkullanu asks the king for a reply to a previous letter. In H. 45, K. 691 he announces that he will "bring to Dilbat" (?) an axe,[8] pilaḳḳu that has been called for. It is probable that some sacred symbol,

[6] For shaving the head as part of the ceremony of consecration to the priesthood, compare Ašurbânipal, L[3] 12, 13. Observe the many cylinder-seals and reliefs in which a shaved person is brought before a god, *e. g.*, the DeClercq collection. The appendix to Curtiss, *PSR.*, 268, by Wm. Hayes Ward, gives a number of illustrations. Notable are figures 3, 7, 10, 17, 19. A fully appareled priest wears a queue, sometimes plaited, sometimes turned up behind, or decorated. As an unclean person must keep from the altar in general Semitic usage, we must regard these scenes as illustrating consecration or purification. Some of the figures may represent females, but some are certainly shaved males. Compare the shaving of the Levites when consecrated, Numb. 8:7; the shaving of the head of the Nazirite as a mode of cleansing, Numb. 6:9, 18; cf. Acts, 18:18; 21:24; shaving of a leper for cleansing, Lev. 14:8, 9; 13:33; Egyptian shaving of one coming to court, Gen. 41:14; the shaving of Egyptian priests mentioned by Herodotus, the prohibition in the case of Hebrew priests, Lev. 19:27; 21:5; Deut. 21:12; Ezek. 44:20. On general subjects see A. R. S. Kennedy, *DB.* I, p. 536; Carslaw, *DB.* III, p. 478.

[7] These duties of Akkullanu suggest the inventory clerk, and Ezekiel's familiarity with all costly merchandise (Ezekiel 27:1–25). Was Ezekiel a priestly threshold keeper, becoming in consequence, familiar with all kinds of articles likely to be brought before a god?

[8] We may think of the double axe, Greek πέλεκυς as contrasted with the ἡμιπελέκκον, now familiar from excavations of the Cretan Labyrinth, which bears traces of Semitic influence; the double axe (or mace) in the hand of Ištar (?) on some seals (Ward, appendix G, to Curtiss, *PSR.*, fig. 7); the lance, as emblem of Ninib, as evidenced by kakkab šuḳudu, kakkab tartaḫu, and the upright lance upon his (?) altar, DeClercq, 308, 371, 373; the double trident (thunderbolt (?)) in the hand of Marduk when assailing Tiâmat in various reliefs and seals; the bow of Ašur in reliefs and historical inscriptions and O. T. reference to worship of military emblems, Hab. 1:16.

or piece of temple furniture, is here referred to. Both letters have been translated by S. A. Smith, *AL.*, and Delitzsch, *BAS.* I, p. 222; II, p. 30.

In H. 429, Rm. 69, translated by Van Gelderen, *BAS.* IV, p. 530, Akkullanu is again concerned with the decorations of the temple. A golden tablet, a peace offering from the king, is missing. Akkullanu reports that it has been seen in the possession of a jeweller (?), and that he will institute a rigid examination of the man before a scribe. That the ornament came safely to the temple from the king's messenger is doubted, and this person should be questioned. Perhaps the same subject is discussed in the badly broken H. 592, K. 1116. Of the fourteen original lines, not one is left entire. We can recognize some reference to a golden tablet and a jeweller.

In H. 47, K. 979 Akkullanu announces libations and royal sacrifices at Tarbiṣi, and asks the king if he should attend them (*cf.* RFHarper, HEBRAICA, X, 1894, p. 196), adding that the king cannot complain this time of not being duly notified. In H. 48, K. 1019, and H. 49, K. 1168, the breaks are too serious to allow any connected narrative; both, however, may refer to the same subject. In H. 48, Akkullanu says: "Regarding the priests of the city of Aššûr (?), about whom the king sent to me, I will myself inquire of some priest . . . ." H. 49 is much longer, and begins, after greetings, "As to that priest about whom the king, my lord, sent to me, he made complaint from his heart three times on that day." The next twenty lines are too fragmentary to yield any connected sense. About the middle of the reverse we find instructions for ritual on certain days; on the tenth day at noon a censer; on the eleventh and twelfth, great sacrifices (niḳê). There follows a report concerning a complaint made by the priest of the Temple of Seven at Nineveh, about whom he had sent word to his lord the king. The son of some priest of the Temple of Šamaš has been asked for; his name, Akkullanu says, is Zari, son of Nadinapal.

The next letter of this group, H. 50, K. 1242, broken also, refers to sacrifices before which Akkullanu stands. Sumerian ritual titles are discernible, and tamarti of Sin and Šamaš are mentioned. HH. 678, 680, 681, are too fragmentary to be of value, but H. 679, 83–1–18, 61 is interesting as being a purely astrological report. Star movements are discussed at some

length, though nearly half the letter is broken away. We may question if the writer is the same Akkullanu as above. Bezold thinks there are two. Yet knowing the dominance of astrology in Assyrian thought and ritual, it would seem that all the learned classes and priestly authorities should have some general knowledge of the subject, as it would be impossible otherwise for them properly to perform their daily functions. This is supported by Thompson's *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers.* Nos. 81, 259 are from a rab dup-šar; Nos. 109, 266, from a rab A. BA.; No. 160 from a dup-šar; No. 58 from the rab A.ZU; No. 83, 115F, 183, 243, from a maš-maš. There is a fair presumption then, in favor of some astrological knowledge upon the part of the TU.bîti. It is practically confirmed by H. 401, 83–1–18, 30, in which the king writes to Zêru'a and the TU.MEŠ.bîti of Dûr-ilu, that the month Adar has an excess, and that they must adjust its calendar. The various astrological reports from Akkullanu in Thompson's collection, and the two other similar reports in *HABL*, need not then be assigned to some other than our temple warden, as Bezold conjectures.

Whatever we may conclude as to the warden Akkullanu's connection with astrology, the passages cited indicate that the TU.bîti was a very powerful official. That his position was one of great honor may be fairly inferred from the case of Nabûšumimbi, previously cited. A nišakku, and šâḳû of Borsippa, he would have us know that he is also a TU.bîti of Nabû. Perhaps it is for the purpose of maintaining his right to this position that he battles with Nabûbêlšunu. Akkullanu's activities and associations suggest high honors. We may add from Nergl. 13, "Nabûšumukîn, the TU.bîti of Nabû and šatammu[9] of Êzida, spoke to the king Neriglissar thus: Give me Gigîtum, your virgin daughter to wife."

Some further texts must be noticed. In the large inscription of Merodach-baladan II one Ina-ḳibi-Bêl is mentioned as a ḫazânu. Is this the person above mentioned as a TU.bîti by Ibašši-ilu in HH. 475, 496? For ḫazânu is a term sometimes

[9]The šatammu kept the šutummu or "storehouse," to which the TU.bîti consigned valuable property, and from which the ḳêpu drew the supplies which he loaned out when handling the temple revenues. Compare the šá-tam bît u-na-ti on Boundary stone 103, col. IV, 9, with the u-na-a-ti of the temple in Note 3, supra, and the amêl šá-tam of the amêl TU.bîti of Marduk in VA. 451 (*KB.* IV, p. 172). The term seems Babylonian rather than Assyrian. In Strassmaier's contracts we sometimes find the šatammu furnishing grain and money from the temple stores. He is occasionally mentioned in connection with the ḳêpu.

applied to the TU.bîti. In H. 65, K. 629 (*JEL.*, p. 153.), Nabû-šumiddin writes to the mâr-šarru. The functions shown in the letter are those we have already observed. The writer announces that the temple of Nabû will be opened on the third of Iyyar. The couch of the god will be consecrated (for this ceremony see K. 164, *BAS.* II, p. 635); the god will return on the fourth; sacrifices are announced, and the route of the sacred procession is given. All may enter the temple who bring one ḳa of food. The writer calls himself the ḫazânu of the temple of Nabû. In H. 366, 82–5–22, Nergal-šarrâni writes of a like event; the temple opening on the third of the month and the god returning on the fourth to the couch. The ḫazânu's connection with the ceremonies is noted. In H. 419, 83–1–18, 24, we have a joint letter from the šangû II-u and the ḫazânu. In H. 49, 83–1–18, 13, the ḫazânu of the temple is expected to aid in stopping certain alterations. The other ḫazânu passages in the RFHarper letters refer generally to city officials. Such may be observed in the historical inscriptions and in the Tell el Amarna letters (*cf.* Zimmern, *ZA.* VI, 248). Winckler, *AOF.*, 246, argues that the title was originally that of the prefect of a village or petty district. But the ideogram for ḫazânu, NU.BANDA, is common in early cattle accounts in the E. A. Hoffman collection (Radau, *EBH.*). The ḫazânu there is only a common herdsman. In early Boundary stones, II R. 43, III R. 41, the ḫazânu is a household officer. The inference is that the word ḫazânu has no restricted technical sense; that it is merely "overseer" (*ZA.* VI, p. 349), and can in consequence be applied to various functionaries. The inference finds support in the Jewish use of the borrowed term. Four ḫazans are distinguished in Jewish literature; (1) the ḫazan, or mayor, of a city; (2) the ḫazan, or sheriff of a court of justice; (3) the ḫazan of the temple (the "porter" of 1 Chron. 10:26–29) who had charge of the robes, treasures, and utensils and who aided the priests in robing and disrobing (*cf.* the Arabic ḫazîn, "treasure-keeper"); and (4) the ḫazan of the synagogue, whose functions may be regarded as a survival of those of the temple ḫazan. (For particulars see, *Jewish Encyclopædia*, VI, pp. 284 *sqq.*)

Considering the very definite character of the reports we have examined, coming from the TU.bîti or ḫazânu, we may fairly conjecture, when we find such reports of the order of services

coming from one who does not mention his office, that the writer is the official under consideration. Thus we may conclude that Nabûpašir who writes H. 134, K. 1234, and Nabûkuduruṣur, writer of H. 858, K. 822, are such officers.

Compare with the data so far given the account given by Curtiss, (*PSR.*, chap. XII) of the sacred classes in modern Syria. "In addition to the care that the minister takes of the shrine he is repository of such legends as may exist with respect to the origin of the shrine, and the life of the saint whose names and deeds are celebrated." This suggests the Cultustafel.

In S^b 77, 4, we read of an akîl kisalluḫi, or "vakeel of the anointed ground." Perhaps this is the early equivalent of TU.bîti.

The passages cited inevitably raise the question, What was the relation of this officer to the šangû? For we have found a šangû complaining of alterations made by a TU.bîti. Akkullanu gives us nearly all the information derivable from the letters concerning the šangû. The latter appears the less conspicuous personage because the matters treated do not fall within the range of his official activity. He may have been influential in popular intrigues, as he is mentioned in two or three reports of governors and military officers, and it was deemed advisable to place two sons of Esarhaddon in the most powerful priestly offices of the empire. While the TU.bîti clearly supervises the general procedure within the temple, we must not conclude that the šangû had no field of his own in which he was final authority. We must regard him as the personage who officiated at the great altar upon the solemn occasions when the keen-eyed and fully-appareled TU.bîti stood in the great gate and carefully inspected the incoming worshipers. The religious texts published suggest the domain of the šangû.

From the evolutionary standpoint both officials are certainly descended from the primitive custodian[10] of the sacred shrine, the Arabian kahinu, the Hebrew kohen. The cuneiform literature affords some data for the history of their development. Neither is known so far in the older inscriptions. We have in them the term patesi, sometimes translated "priest-king," and comparable with the Semitic sheikh of a petty district, who may

[10] Such custodian appears on some very early seals. Ward, *PSR.*, Appendix G, fig. 14, gives a very interesting case: a porter guards a two-leaved door, while a worshiper stands before the god within.

also be the custodian of its sanctuary. This translation has been fairly questioned. Budge and King (*AKA.* I, p. xvii; *cf.* Jensen, *KB.* III, 1, 66) would interpret its use by early Assyrian kings as indicating their subjection to Babylonian secular domination. It may as plausibly be construed as showing that there was then little religious differentiation from Babylonia; and Lehmann (*BAS.* II, p. 614) has shown that the early rulers of Shirpurla use it regularly, whether they were independent or vassals. Moreover, in Assyria they are patesis of gods, not of other princes. In the Ḫammurabi period the patesis are clearly a sacred class. In *LIH.*, 42, we read of one man libbi mârê bârê, and four libbi mârê patesi; in *LIH.*, 17, we have two men libbi mârê patesi and one libbi mârê bârê. This pairing "the sons of the seers" with "the sons of the patesis" recalls the seers or "sons of the prophets" and "the priests the Levites" of the O.T. In *LIH.*, 43, we learn of a sharp protest made at the drafting of a patesi for corvée service. The recipient of the letter is given to understand that the patesis are exempt from such service. We must understand this exemption to be upon religious grounds; we cannot suppose that one secular governor had seized his confrére for corvée service. Compare Ezra, 7:24. In *LIH.*, 91 a šangû of Anunit is included as one of the patesis of Anunit. This form of statement makes us think that the šangû is appearing as a subdivision of the patesis. In *LIH.*, 38, a patesi in the service of one officer wishes to be transferred to the employ of another. The king directs that an exchange be effected and that the employer see that the patesi's field is properly cultivated for him (*cf.* Neh. 13: 10–13). This is extremely interesting, as suggesting that the patesi class was not yet concentrated at a few great temples, but that many were household priests like Micah's Levite in Judges 17. It would also appear that Ḫammurabi is endeavoring to control the distribution of the patesis; the *LIH.* letters show also that he looked after the temple revenues. The grouping of patesis with seers, bârûti, by Ḫammurabi, should recall the references to visions and a seer-goddess by the patesi Gudea, Cylinder A.

This same distribution of the patesi class is shown us a thousand years later. Boundary stone No. 105, III R. 41, records the sale of a piece of land. In the list of curses we find one that

is unique: an imprecation upon him who shall ignore this deed of sale and present the land to any god, or king, or patesi of a king, or patesi of a šaknu, or patesi of a bît ṭêmi. Remembering how frequently we find the kings seizing lands and setting them aside for various temple servitors, we may suspect that patesis, in the days of Marduk-nadinaḫi, B. C. 1115, were not universally admired, and that they were to some extent household priests, as the data above would suggest: and that the term in the boundary stone is still a general one for shrine functionaries of any kind. Furthermore, we find documents of the later periods showing sacred personalities holding two or three leading offices: as Nabû-šumimbi, already cited, is both nišakku and TU.bîti. And the ability of a man to establish his household shrine and priest is shown by documents like Bu. 88–5–18, 704, cited by Johns, *ABLCL.*, p. 223, in which Nûr-ilišu dedicates to a god one SAR of land, and decrees that Pî-ša-Samaš shall be its priest, Nûrilišu himself laying no claim to the priesthood. This is an excellent parallel to the case of Micah (*cf.* Nbd. 773). One or two passages in the religious texts may support this view of the patesi as a religious functionary instead of a secular "deputy." Marduk is the well-known mašmaš ilâni: the incantations of the mašmaš ilâni are sometimes called for: in his name evil is adjured to leave. But in *DES.*, p. 168, "E" 41, Ea tells Marduk, "perform for him the incantation of ilu pa-te-si-MAḪ." In *DES.*, p. 34, "By ilu Pa-te-si-GAL.ZU.AB be thou exorcised." Is the "Great Purifier," Marduk, the PATESI.MAḪ? The second reference seems to be to Ea. We may now fairly ask if PA.TE.SI is not simply aklu + temênu + ḳarnu (see Brünnow, under signs) "the horned official of the platform." On ancient seals (*e. g.*, Ward, *PSR.*, Appendix G) the priest wears a horned cap. In the O. T., and in the cases considered by Evans, *Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult*, the horns are on the altar, or over the sacred portal.

In Babylonia the title patesi persists to the end, the title TU.bîti appearing as early as the time of the Cultustafel. But since the restoration described there is "according to the instructions of the two TU.bîti," and since this office tended, as we shall see, to be hereditary, we may fairly conclude that the office existed, and that its functions were fixed before the destruction of the temple by the Suteans, several centuries earlier. It may even

date back to the days of Ḫammurabi, since we have found the šangû known at that time. The TU.bîti appears in other familiar documents of the time of Nabûpaliddin, to be mentioned presently in connection with the hereditary character of the office.

But in Assyria the title patesi soon disappears. It is claimed by Irišum, B. C. 2000, who is called centuries later a šangû of Ašur (Scheil, *Rec. Trav.*, XXI, 1900); by Šamši-Adad and Išme-Dagan, B. C. 1850–1800. Tiglathpileser I. accords these two the same title, VIII, 2, 3. Pudû-ilu, B. C. 1350, calls himself iššakku of Ašur, the equivalent of patesi. Adad-nirâri, his son, calls himself iššakku of Ašur in one inscription, and šangû ṣîru of Bêl on a stone tablet; he is in this inscription the son of Pudûilu the šaknu of Bêl, iššakku of Ašur; grandson of Bêl-nirâri the šangû of Ašur, great-grandson of Ašur-uballiṭ, whose šangûtu was glorious. Can this varied terminology mean that the chief priests of different divinities originally bore different titles, arising from the different rites prominent in the cults? Šangû is, up to this point, reserved for the servitor of Ašur or Ištar. Ašur-rêš-iši, 1140 B. C., is šangû of Ašur, and gives the same title to Mutakkil-Nusku and Ašurdân, his predecessors. Tiglathpileser I. claims the office. Ašurnâṣirpal, in his various inscriptions, is šangû of different gods; Ašur, Ištar, Bêl, Ninib, and Nergal (see *AKA.*, pp. 182, 189, 198, 205, 209; Annals I, 25). In K. 868 he is išipu nâ'du nibit Ninib. Evidently he has become "commander of the faithful" of all the more prominent cults. The Sargonids emphasize their šangûtu of Ištar. But Sargon himself, evidently a religious reactionary, revives the phraseology of Pudu-ilu 600 years before. In the Nimrud inscription he is šaknu of Bêl, iššakku of Ašur: he repeats this on numerous bricks. This is certainly irreconcilable with the theory that patesi or iššakku, when used by an Assyrian king, implies his subjection to Babylon. In some of these brick inscriptions we have his title more fully: šakan ^{ilu}Bêl, iššakki ^{ilu}Ašur šakkanak ^{ilu}Nabû u ^{ilu}Marduk. This supports the suggestion that the chief priests of certain gods may have had distinctive religious titles. The šakkanakku of Babylon would appear to have been the vicegerent of Nabû and Marduk.

We may wonder if these royal claims indicate functional activity, or mere honorary headship. We do not hear of an Assyrian king claiming for himself the honor of TU.bîti. He

would think of himself as officiating at the altar instead of "keeping the charge of the house." But Neriglissar, placed on the throne by priestly intrigue, tells us that he is the son of Bêlšumiškun, the wise prince, the perfect hero, nâṣir maṣṣarti Êsaggil u TIN.TIR.KI. (Budge, *PSBA.*, 1888, cylinder; col. I, 11–13.) Is the king boasting of his descent from a TU.bîti? In Assyria, did the temple officials, who, in their letters, frequently used the phrase: "We keep the charge of the king our lord,"[11] think of the king as a šangû whom they assisted? Esarhaddon's favorite oracle, we know, was that of Ištar of Arbela, sometimes spoken of as Bêlit parṣi. He declares that Ištar of Arbela is a goddess, ra'imat šangûtia. In opening salutations Adadšumuṣur (and occasionally others) frequently writes, after greeting the king, a-na pi-kit-te ša Bêlit parṣi šul-mu a-dan-niš. Does he think of the king as the great šangû of Ištar, and therefore include in such salutations "those who kept the charge of the house" of Ištar? Questions like these are natural in connection with the subject, but answers just now would be premature.

Reference has been made to the efforts of various kings to guarantee the maintenance of certain temple officials by freeing certain lands or persons from royal taxation, the revenues being instead devoted to the temple service, and the produce of the lands going into the temple stores, when it was more than could be immediately consumed. The term zakku, "dedicate," secures this exemption from secular demands. The Chronicler may be copying this scheme in 2 Chron. 31:13–19. Exemptions for sacred classes are specified in Ezra 7:24. But the records of such royal grants raise the question of heredity, the land so consecrated being sometimes spoken of as previously consecrated by a former king, and later reverting to the royal domain. An example may be cited in K. 4467, published by Johns, *ADD.*, I, 714. Meissner, *MVAG.*, 1903, III, p. 6 *sqq.*, collates it with K. 1989, and 83–1–18, 425, and Bu. 91–5–9, 193. Sargon narrates in this deed his restoration of land originally set aside by Adadnirâri to supply the granaries of Ašur. Ninety-five imêru of land in the fields of the city of the TU.bîti, in the campus of Nineveh, are reconsecrated. The land is given in charge of the

[11] The frequency of the similar expression in the Old Testament should be noticed: Gen. 26:5; Exod. 6:13; Numb. 9:19; 27:23; 1 Chron. 9:27; 2 Chron. 8:14.

sons of former temple servitors. Fifteen imêru of ground are set aside for the rab akalê, "like the field of the city of the TU.bîti—with the field of the governor of Dûr-Šarrûkîn I counted it—fifteen I thus consecrated." This placing of the lands of the temple servitors upon the same footing as the land of the governor should be compared with Ezekiel's land system, 45:1–8, and endowed state offices in the Ḫarran census.

Since the benefice is given to the descendants of former beneficiaries, and the TU.bîti are spoken of as though owning or dwelling in a city, or definite territory, and since Akkullanu, in H. 43, speaking of a deposed priest, then dead, recommends his son for the vacancy, the fact of heredity in sacred offices, and the existence of Levitical cities, is clearly shown.[12] In this connection we have some interesting matter. VA. 208 of the Berlin Museum (*KB.* IV, p. 94) is from the 22d year of Nabûpaliddin. In it Bêliddin, son of Nabû-zêr-iddin, the TU.bîti of ^{ilu}La-ga-ma-al and šaḳû of Dilbat deeds to his second son his right to the entrance fees of flesh of different kinds. In another document, much damaged, from the 20th year of Nabûpaliddin, we find Nabûpaliddin, son of Abuâ, grandson of Aḳar-Nabû, the TU.bîti, complaining that he has received but part of the land held by his fathers. His petition in the case is granted (*KB.* IV, p. 92). A very interesting case of transfer appears centuries later. It suggests that the hereditary line of temple wardens may have been threatened with extinction. A TU.bîti adopts a son, and transfers to him a right to 6 ḳa of food and 6 ḳa of drink, a fourth interest (zittu) in the flesh of offered oxen, and an interest in the table of the god (zitti paššûri). This document is dated in the first year of Barzia (VA. Th. 123, 124; *KB.* IV, p. 296). We should not infer that the entire TU.bît-u-tu is transferred by this document, for we have another, showing partial sale. It comes from Uruk, from the time of the Seleucidae, (*KB.* IV p. 313). The seller holds the TU.bît-u-tu of Bêl, or at least a one-sixth interest in it. He sells for one mina five shekels of silver "one-sixth of the day" upon the 16th, 17th, and 18th days, forever, with all right to the purchaser to do as the seller would have done, with the receipts of the "sixth of the day." As the document is

[12] This question of the city I discuss in "The Semitic City of Refuge," *Monist*, October, 1905.

dated the 27th of Nisan, and no month is named in connection with "the 16th, 17th, and 18th days," we may infer that those days of each month are implied. Comparing this with the announcement of Nabûšumiddin, already noticed, H. 65, K. 629 that the entrance fee upon the festal day will be one ḳa of food, we may perceive how very profitable the wardenship of a large temple might be. The document just cited is one of the earliest cases of simony or speculating in pew-rents on record. But though heredity in sacred offices is shown by the documents cited, they also show that it was subject to modifications, as in Palestine. The above transfers of TU.bît-u-tu may be compared with transfers of other sacred offices. Thus, in the fourteenth year of Nabûna'id, 84–2–11, 61, *ABR.* II, p. 20, Nabûbalaṭsuiḳbi bequeaths to one son the "dagger-bearership" (GIR.LAL-u-tu) or position of official slaughterer in the temple of Ešarra, and to another son the income of the shrine of Papsukal in the temple of Bêlit-šamê-erṣiti. In MAP. 41, we find in the days of Rim-Sim a suit involving the right to five days in the year in the temple of Nannar, sixteen in the temple of Bêlit, and eight in the shrine of Gula. In Bu. 91–5–9, 2175 A is discussed the right to act as šatammu, for six days in the month, in the temple of Šamaš. And such priestly offices could be held by women, or transferred to them: the "dagger-bearership" above mentioned Nabû-balatsuiḳbi states he had formerly assigned to his mother. We may conjecture that during her tenure of the benefice a hireling performed the work. Such rights to temple receipts on certain days may lie behind the rotation service of the Levites in the Chronicler's scheme.

THE ESARHADDON SUCCESSION.

In the preceding index the term mâr-šarru was not included, as it was not considered to need special explanation. But a careful examination of the numerous occurrences of the term suggested important bearings upon a mooted historical question. Perhaps this Sargonid title had in the later period a significance which it did not have in the earlier. In its technical sense it is considered a compound noun. That it has such special or restricted sense when used incidentally or in formulae of salutation, must be conceded for the sake of intelligibility. To translate "Peace to the king my lord: peace to a son of the king," when the king has several sons, would be too indefinite. It must be that "the king's son" κατ' ἐξοχήν (Johns, *ADD.* II, p. 182, "crown prince;" *cf.* Lehmann, *Šamaššumukîn* II, p. 108) is meant by mâr-šarru in such salutations.

In H. 3, K. 492, and H. 365, Bu. 91–5–9, 141, Adadšumuṣur mentions one mâr-šarru, without qualifying additions. Nabû-šumiddin, of the same period (*JEL.*, pp. 131, 153), writes in H. 65, K. 629 to the mâr-šarru. At a later time, in H. 66, K. 1017, he knows of two princes of such rank, with distinctive qualifying epithets. Nabûrabîaḫê in H. 175, K. 614, writes to the mâr-šarru concerning the shortcomings of the Ṣidonians. This suggests Esarhaddon's reign. Išdî-Nabû, H. 187, K. 589, and H. 189, K. 1048, addresses letters to the mâr-šarru. He is probably to be assigned to the reign of Esarhaddon (*cf. JEL.*, p. 156). In H. 108, K. 519, Arad-Nânâ, court-physician of Esarhaddon's time, writes in his salutations, šulmu adanniš ana mâr-šarri. Winckler's theory (*AOF.* II, p. 185) that Ašurmukînpalê'a is meant here, because that prince is mentioned by name by Arad-Nanâ in H. 109, K. 532, can hardly be accepted; the reason is insufficient. There is no evidence that Ašurmukînpalê'a was ever crown prince. Winckler does not seem to recognize any technical sense for mâr-šarru, nor the fact that it is specifically applied to two princes who are also called by name,

while the other sons of Esarhaddon are mentioned by name only. The niceties of Assyrian official etiquette must be given due consideration. In H. 430, Rm. 72, we have a brief letter written by a mâr-šarru. It does not seem to occur to him that any confusion would result. Surely no other son of the king could write as mâr-šarru. In H. 152, K. 1101 + K. 1221, Šarrunâ'id complains to the mâr-šarru that his property has been seized by one who is neither the king's agent nor the agent of the mâr-šarru. In H. 404, 81–2–4, 62 the welfare of the mâr-šarru and his brothers is prayed for; compare like expressions for Ašurbânipal and his brothers in H. 453, K. 948. In H. 614, K. 1152, some one is asserted to be called by Sin and Šamaš a-na mâr-šarru-u-te ^{mât}Aššûr.

A number of these citations belong indisputably to the reign of Esarhaddon. We have evidence, then, that for some time during that reign one son of the king, and but one, held the official rank of mâr-šarru.

Does mâr-šarru, or mâr-šarru rabû, as "crown prince," designate the eldest son of the king, as some translate (*e. g.* Johnston, *JAOS.* XX, p. 248; *cf. contra*, Lehmann, *Šamaššum-ukîn*, II, p. 108), or does rabû imply precedence rather than seniority? Sennacherib's name is suspected to refer to his being a younger son; yet Ḫunnî in H. 216, K. 1062, says, "Peace to Sennacherib, the mar-šarru rabû, peace to the mârê šarri." Meissner in *MVAG.*, 1904, pp. 181–84, and Johnston, *JAOS.* XXV, pp. 79 *sqq.*, discuss H. 870, 82–5–22, 107. That letter, as they recognize, shows that Šamaššumukîn, not Ašurbânipal, was the eldest living son of Esarhaddon, it being agreed that these two princes are referred to. Yet Šamaššumukîn, we shall see, was not mâr-šarru rabû. The seniority of Šamaššumukîn is also suggested by a boundary-stone inscription dating from the reign of Šamaššumukîn, published by Winckler, *AOF.* I, pp. 498 *sqq.* The broken beginning speaks of mâru rêštu ša Ašur-aḫ-iddin šarru dannu šar kiššati šar ^{mât}Aššûr, šar kâl šarrâni šakkanak TIN. TIR.ki šar lâ šanân aḫû talîmu ša Ašur-bâni-apli šar kiššati šar ^{mât}Aššûr. The name of Šamaššumukîn as the king referred to occurs two or three times in the body of the inscription. With the seniority of Šamaššumukîn declared, we must probably regard talîmu as signifying equality in rank instead of age.

The courtly letter above cited protests against a proposed division of authority. Some one speaks in behalf of the designated prince of Aššûr against the proposal to place the eldest son upon the throne of Babylon. The style suggests Adadšumuṣur; and this may find support in H. 594, K. 1118 (not quite understood, I think, by Behrens, *ABB.*, p. 25). This latter letter shows that the king is angry at some reported remark of the old courtier upon the proposed relative standing of the mâr-šarru and Šamaššumukîn, and orders a ban upon him. This letter settles, it would seem, which son of Esarhaddon was sole mâr-šarru for a time, as suggested by the first paragraph of this discussion. It was not Šamaššumukîn, as Winckler conjectures, *AOF.* I, 415 *sqq.*, quoted by Johnston, *JAOS.*, 1904, p. 81, where he adds, "If Šamaššumukîn were the eldest son of Esarhaddon, he would be the natural heir to the throne." But letters like H. 24, H. 439, H. 594, H. 740, mention one son of Esarhaddon as a mâr-šarru, and another as merely Šamaššumukîn. The conjectures mentioned then fall to the ground. Yet Winckler may be correct in connecting the disturbances in the last year of Esarhaddon's reign with the arrangement for the succession. That Šamaššumukîn's dignity was an afterthought, growing out of the Babylonian problem, seems then to be the fact. That Ašurbânipal was originally sole mâr-šarru has several other supports. In I.R., IV, 85, we have a tablet stating that a certain palace was built kirib ^{alu}Tarbîṣi ana mûšab Ašurbânipal mâr-šarru ša bît-ridûti. Remembering that the great assembly in the month Iyyar, proclaiming the coordinate princes, was held upon the eve of Esarhaddon's last expedition to Egypt, and that he died upon the road, it is extremely improbable that any palaces were planned or built in that brief interim. Had such been built, at that late period of his reign, Assyrian royal idiosyncrasies would lead us to expect Ašurbânipal's claiming to be the builder. This palace for the "crown prince" must belong to an earlier period, when Šamaššumukîn was not yet designated as a mâr-šarru. Ašurbânipal is also called "the son of my heart," or favorite son, in this inscription.

But how shall we understand Knudtzon 107, in which Esarhaddon inquires concerning the installation of Siniddinapal as crown prince? As we do not hear of him elsewhere, Knudtzon's

supposition is most plausible, that Siniddinapal, Esarhaddon's first choice for successor, soon died, and the honor was then bestowed upon Ašurbânipal. This may be supported by the fact that in Kn. 66, 67, Ašurbânipal is merely "son of Esarhaddon king of Assyria;" in all other cases in which he is associated with Esarhaddon in these oracles, he is mâr-šarru ša bît ridûti. He did not have this honor from the very beginning.

Comparing H. 594, K. 1118, H. 117, K. 999, H. 118, K. 1026, H. 656, 82–5–22, 168, and H. 34, K. 981, we find protests from Adadšumuṣur and his friends that he did not say what he has been charged with saying. Notice especially the third and fourth. We observe in these also an effective reconciliation, and assurances that Adadšumuṣur and Arad-Gula will officiate, will share in the ḳannu ceremony(?) (ḳa-an-ni a-ḫi-iš ni-za-az), and that they will support the proposed regîme. (Does this word ḳannu in these letters mean "installation" or "ordination," from which "jurisdiction" or "province," an apparent meaning in other passages, may well be derivative? Compare H. 409, Rm. 2, 2, obv. 10: ^{amêl} bêl paḫati ša ḳa-ni ^{mât} U-ka-a-a: ḳêpâni ša ḳa-ni, Knudtzon 107, obv. 4: ḳêpâni ša ḳa-an-ni, Kn. 109, obv. 7: rab alâni ša ḳa-ni, H. 252, K. 525, obv. 8: and a letter of Ištaršumêreš on this subject, H. 670, K. 12, rev. 7, a-na ḳa-an-ni lu še-ṣi-u: rev. 9, ki-ma šarri a-na ḳa-an-ni il-tu-ṣi. Perhaps derivative from ḳanû, "reed." So SAS., *Abp.*, III, p. 30. In various bas-reliefs we may see the king handing a reed to some one as token of a commission.)[1]

The 22d of Tišrit may have been a day by which the nobles should recognize the proposed arrangements for the succession. References to ûm XXII ^{kam} u ûmu anniu recur in the letters cited above. In H. 740, 83–1–18, 26 Ikkaru greets the king; upon the reverse he adds a hearty greeting to Šamaššumukîn, and also refers to that 22d day. In H. 34, K. 981, Ištaršumêreš, a close friend of Adadšumuṣur, says, "My lord the king, from his heart he did not speak about it." It may be that he refers to the above-mentioned charge against his friend.

With Ašurbânipal already generally known as a mâr-šarru and Šamaššumukîn announced for the like dignity, we have some interesting correspondence, possibly upon the solemn preparations for the great occasion. H. 24, K. 626 gives directions for

[1] See also Johns, *ADD.* II, p. 124, and further discussion in connection with the šalšu.

certain ceremonies for averting evil from the mâr-šarru and Šamaššumukîn, it would seem; while H. 23, K. 602 tells of prayers and ceremonies carefully performed, of purifications and propitiations already complete, on behalf of the mâr-šarru, and the mâr-šarru of Babylon. Šamaššumukîn has now his new title, it appears. Mardukšâkinšum, the author of these two letters, also mentions the mâr-šarru, Arad-Gula, Nabûšumiddin, Nabûmudûti, and the observances for the month Ab, in H. 17, K. 472, H. 18, K. 490. These all are mentioned in the preceding letters cited, and these two fragments may then deal with the same matters. Possibly H. 25, K. 639 does also.

Other letters refer to the status of the two brothers. In H. 434, Bu. 89–4–26, 163, Ašurukîn salutes the king, the mâr-šarru of Aššûr, and the mâr-šarru of Babylon. In rev. 22 he speaks of some one suspected of conspiracy, brought before the mâr-šarru for examination. The mâr-šarru evidently had some executive pre-eminence over the mâr-šarru of Babylon. The broken H. 439, K. 432, 7 ff. greets Šamaššumukîn, and refers to ceremonies performed before Ninkigal for the mâr-šarru, but not as yet for Šamaššumukîn. In H. 654, 82–5–22, 103 Adadšumuṣur addresses the mâr-šarru rabû, calling him also mâr-šar kiššat mâtâti, and mâr-šar mâtâti three times. The old courtier certainly suggests that there is now more than one mâr-šarru, as contrasted with the state of affairs at the time he wrote H. 3 and H. 365; he is explicit as to the one now addressed. Even more interesting is his misplaced adjective, added as an afterthought in H. 10, K. 641: . . . . a-na mâr-šar ^{mât}Aššur rabê bêli'a. One would suppose the necessity for the distinction was new. In H. 658, 83–1–18, 81, he writes concerning the sickness of Ašûr-etil-šamê-irṣiti-uballiṭsu, and mentions also the mâr-šarru ša kutalli—a variation of mâr-šarru ša bît-ridûti. The sick prince, like Ašurmukînpalê'a, previously mentioned, has no title, though a son of the king. The titled prince, we have already seen, is Ašurbânipal, in the opinion of Adadšumuṣur.

We may refer here to letters like HH. 33, 202, 384, 386, concerning the taking of the adê by officials and various towns. As they come to some extent from this same group of writers, and as Ašurbânipal declares solemn oaths were taken before his father's death, there is ground for believing that these letters may be con-

nected with the great event discussed. The data so far presented give a very consistent story of the plan for the succession. The months named and the events, compel us to place the publication of the king's later intentions at least as early as the year preceding the great assembly in the month Iyyar. We evidently have not a complete statement from Ašurbânipal as to the object of that assembly. The nobles killed with the sword in the last year of Esarhaddon may have been those who refused to recognize the new honors of Šamaššumukîn.

That the mention of a mâr-šarru and a mâr-šarru of Babylon is not intended to include all Esarhaddon's family we know from the mention of untitled members, already noticed. We may add Arad-Nabû's letter, H. 113, K. 501, which on the reverse speaks of [6]niḳê ša Ašurbâni-apli mâr-šarru rabu-u, [7]ša Šamaššumukîn mâr-šar Bâbili [8]ša Šêrû'a-êṭerat [9]ša Ašur-mukîn-palê-ia, [10]ša Šar-šamê-irṣiti-uballiṭsu. Šamašmîtûballiṭ is not mentioned, unless we could prove that the last prince in the letter is he. This I think improbable, but the name of the last prince is certainly the same as Ašur-etil-šamê-irṣiti-uballiṭsu, already mentioned. The view of Johns, *ABLCL.*, p. 375, that the list gives the order of seniority in Esarhaddon's family cannot be maintained. We have seen that Ašurbânipal, called in this letter the mâr-šarru rabû, was not the eldest son. Winckler's theory, *AOF.* II, p. 183, that the last prince in this letter is Esarhaddon himself, is very curious. It would require us to believe that the punctilious Arad-Nabû disregarded here in a letter to the king the precedence due to him; the first law of official etiquette. Quite as curious is his theory that Ašur-etil-ilâni-ukînnî in H. 870 is also Esarhaddon. A princess named Šêrû'a-êṭerat occurs in each; that is the only proof offered. He does not try to prove the two princesses to be one and the same save by the other assumption.

Perhaps the problem of precedence occurred to Winckler, and produced his theory of a semi-abdication on the part of Esarhaddon, wherein the king retained the title šar-kiššati and made Ašurbânipal šar Aššûr. Neither bears such title in the letters just discussed; and we have seen that the varied official correspondence does not call Ašurbânipal the šar Aššûr after the great ceremony, but the mâr-šarru rabû. We would also have Šêrû'a-êṭerat and Ašur-mukîn-palê-ia taking precedence of

Winckler's theoretical šar kiššati in the letter that troubles him. Winckler, *AOF.* II, p. 186, bases his theory upon a letter of Nabûnadinšum, H, 54, K, 476, to the mârât-šarri, in which the king is called šar kiššati bêli'a. No proof is offered that the letter is written to Esarhaddon's daughter. Even if it were, Winckler would have to prove that it was written in the last weeks of Esarhaddon's reign, and his theory would still be unestablished. For we should ask if the usage of the term šar kiššati in the letters supports the limited construction Winckler would here put upon it.

The TIK.EN.NA in H. 542, K. 114 addresses Sargon as šar kiššati bêli'a. Would Winckler say Sargon was no longer king of Aššûr? Ašurbânipal is addressed as šar mâtâti in H. 266, K. 78, and H. 269, K. 528, though he had a colleague at Babylon. Aplâ, writing to the queen mother, in H. 324, K. 523, calls the king šar mâtâti. Bêlibnî prefers bêl šarrâni bêli'a. Aplâ, in H. 326, K. 1249, uses both šar kiššati and šar mâtâti; evidently of Esarhaddon. Kudurru prefers šar mâtâti. Adadšumuṣur varies; he uses šarru bêl mâtâti in H. 5, K. 583. Nabû-ukîn, H. 750, 83–1–18 280, says ana šar šarrâni. Marduk, H. 808, Bu., 91–5–9, 113, uses šar mâtâti and bêl šarrâni. These are amply illustrative. A subject must recognize the king as a king, and as his lord; additional *epitheta ornantia* aim at broad compliment, not at precision. The semi-abdication of Esarhaddon and a territorial division of authority is not supported by the single šar kiššati from which Winckler derives it.

Nor can we accept Winckler's theory that aḫu rabû was used to designate a brother whom the king had chosen as his successor. In *AOF.* II, p. 185, he advances such a theory with regard to the two sons of Esarhaddon, mentioned in L^3 12, 13, and refers to K. 581; but K. 581 as published by Harper, 331, contains no reference to the matter. Ašurbânipal's statement in L^3 12, 13, is that he "shaved" (see TU.bîti excursus, p. 45) Ašur-etil-šamê-irṣiṭi-uballiṭ-su as the urigallu of Sin at Ḫarran, Ašur-mukîn-palê-ia as urigallu at (Ašur?) *cf.* Sargon cyl. 5, 6, and *HWB.*, p. 129, and "*The Semitic City of Refuge*," *Monist*, October, 1905. Johns *ABLCL.*, p. 366, places him at Ḫarran, perhaps a confusion with his brother; he does not give the document for the statement. These two princes, frequently named in the letters, are not accorded any title in them. Winckler, for the sake of variation,

abandons urigallu in the cited passage (*cf.* Brünnow 6452, and *HWB.*) for aḫu rabû, though the two princes are respectively called aḫu kuddinnu, and aḫu ṣiḫru in the same lines. Šamaššumukîn applies the same terms to them (*cf.* Lehmann, *Šamaššumukîn* p. 30). H. 370, 81–2–4, 49, may refer to this elevation to the rank of "Great Protector." There does not seem to me any real support for the theory that an aḫu rabû might be an alternative for a mâr-šarru rabû. To Winckler's interpretation is the further objection that it makes Ašurbânipal plan a divided authority to succeed himself after he had himself objected to such a measure. Moreover, we would conclude there was despair of direct succession, and that this record was late in the reign of Ašurbânipal. The evidence does not support either conclusion.

The actual order of events in bringing Šamaššumukîn to regal dignity and possible co-equality with Ašurbânipal seems fairly established as against theories hitherto offered (also *contra* Hommel, *DB.*, p. 169). What were the intentions of Esarhaddon with regard to the exact extent of the authority of each?[2] Some light may be gained by further consideration of the requirements of oriental diplomatic etiquette.

Taking up the Tel-el-Amarna letters in the British Museum, as published by Bezold, we find No. 1 beginning "To Kallimma-Sin, king of Karaduniaš, my brother, thus saith Amenophis, the great King, king of Egypt, thy brother." No. 2 begins, "To Nibmuaria, king of Egypt . . . . thus saith Burraburiaš, king of Karaduniaš, thy brother." Nos. 5, 6, 7, "To the king of Egypt, his brother, thus says the king of Alašiya, his brother." No. 8 is especially to the point: "To Nimmuaria, the great king, king of Egypt, my brother, my son-in-law, who loveth me, whom I love, thus saith Tušratta, the great king, thy father-in-law, who loveth thee, the king of Mitanni, thy brother." Nos. 9, 10, 11, show like forms of address.

Delattre, *PSBA.*, 1891, 539 ff., treats some of the Berlin collection of Tel-el-Amarna letters, as published by Winckler. In

[2] Tiele, *Bab. Assyr. Gesch.*, pp. 351, 369, 371, makes Ašurbânipal a viceroy, about 671 B. C. Hommel, *Gesch. Bab. und Assyr.*, p. 694, takes the same view, but dates the event 669 B. C. E. Meyer, *Geschichte Alterthums*, I, p. 447, makes Šamaššumukîn and Ašurbânipal to be crowned almost simultaneously, both owing their elevation to their father. Lehmann, *Šamaššumukîn*, pp. 33, *sqq.*, holds a similar view; *cf.* Maspero, *Passing of Empires*, p. 381. Knudtzon, *Gebete an den Sonnen-Gott*, p. 220, does not believe Esarhaddon ever thought of setting Ašurbânipal aside for Šamaššumukîn.

No. 18, the king of the Hittites addresses the king of Egypt six times as "my brother." In No. 32, Tušratta, king of Mitanni, uses the term "my brother" thirty-two times of the king of Egypt. The king of Alašiya uses the appellation twenty-five times of the king of Egypt. The Azîru letters are published by Delattre, *PSBA.*, 1891, pp. 215 ff. Letter No. 11 begins "[1]ana Dûdu bêli'a abi'a [2]umma Azîru mâruka arduka [3]ana šêpi abi'a amkut." So also No. 38. Compare in O. T., Gen. **32**, 17, 18; **33**, 5, 8, 9, 13, 14; 1 Kings, **9**, 13; 2 Kings **16**, 7. Particularly interesting is the way in which the king of Israel was tricked out of the fruits of his victory over Syria by the quick-witted Syrians' claiming the acknowledgment of their king as a "brother" (1 Kings **20**, 32 ff.) instead of a "servant," or "son." So also two suppliants in *LIH.* 48 speak of the governor as "our father."

The examples show that diplomatic correspondence required the acknowledgment of equality or independence where it existed. Equal precision was to be used in defining the reverse relations. "Brother" or "sister," in such correspondence, implies something like "peer." Where family relationships existed, these were specified; the relative rank was still carefully defined, as in the Tušratta letters. "Father" in such addresses might mean acknowledgment of subjection; it might be mere compliment, as in Joash's address to the dying Elisha.[3]

Looking now to Assyria, we observe the same usage. Esarhaddon (G. Smith, p. 24) writes to Urtaku, king of Elam: "Peace be to Urtaku, king of Elam, my brother." K. 359 (SAS., *Abp.*, II, p. 51) begins, "Letter of Ummanaldaš, king of Elam, to Ašurbânipal, king of Aššûr. Peace be to my brother."

Considering family relationships, we may remember that Sennacherib was mâr-šarru rabû; yet when conducting important operations in the North, in his letters to the king his father he emphasizes his own inferior rank, beginning always: "To the king, my lord, thy servant Sennacherib." See HH. 196–199; 568. Šamašmîtûballiṭ, we have seen, was a younger son of Esarhaddon. His letters to the king are then to his father or his brother. We have two, H. 341, 82–5–22, 174; H. 766, K. 475; each beginning, "To the king, my lord, thy servant,

[3] This fact invalidates the theory of Tiele and Lehmann that Ašurbânipal might have been king of Aššûr in the lifetime of Esarhaddon. It is based upon the fragmentary K. 2641, in which a king of Aššûr addresses the king of Babylon as "my father." See Lehmann, *Šamaššumukîn*, p. 36; Tiele, pp. 330, 352, 370.

Samašmîtûballiṭ. Peace to the king, my lord." The requirements of etiquette in Assyria seem the same as those noted elsewhere. One should not address the king as "my brother" unless he were the peer of the king.

We have letters from Šamaššumukîn. In H. 426, 80–7–19, 17; he calls the king "my brother" six times; he does not call him "my lord." He himself is king of Babylon at the time. The broken H. 809, K. 5483, is from him; the king is twice called "my brother." The boundary stone already cited *AOF.*, I, 498 *sqq.*, makes Šamaššumukîn speak of Ašurbânipal as aḫu talîmu, "brother of equal rank." It seems clear that he did not recognize the over-lordship of Ašurbânipal in these documents. How then shall we understand his three short letters, HH. 534–536, beginning: "To the king, my lord, thy servant, Šamaššumukîn"? It is fair to consider them addressed to Esarhaddon.

Does Ašurbânipal recognize the equal rank of Šamaššumukîn? We know he calls the latter "aḫu talîmu." We have no letters from him to Šamaššumukîn in the *HABL.* vols. H. 870, 82–5–22, 107, already mentioned, Johnston considers inspired by him. In view of the unwillingness to concede division of authority therein shown, any incidental concessions of fact should be accounted of much significance. His effort in several inscriptions to make himself the source of his brother's authority must be qualified by such incidental concessions, and by the data given in the preceding pages.

Johns, in "The Chronology of Ašurbânipal's Reign," *PSBA.*, 1905, p. 94, favors the contention of Ašurbânipal. "If Esarhaddon had set his son upon the throne of Babylon, Šamaššumukîn must have reigned both in B. C. 669 and 648, and would thus have reigned 22 years. If Esarhaddon did not set him upon the throne, no one but Ašurbânipal could do it. There was no organized native power to elect him."

The contention is not sound. The argument to exclude B. C. 669 from Šamaššumukîn's reign would exclude it from Ašurbânipal's also. Probably this should be conceded. The data already examined seem to show that Esarhaddon's plans were for the simultaneous accession of his two sons after his own death. What organized native power could then put Ašurbânipal on the throne?

Johns, *ADD.* 477, K. 448, has among the witnesses officers of the mâr-šarru and the mâr-šar Bâbili. The document is dated in Nisan. If the general view be correct, that the great assembly in Iyyar consummated Esarhaddon's arrangements for the succession; if this assembly be contemplated in the preparations we have referred to in the letters, the above document must be dated in the following Nisan; for in the preceding one Šamaššumukîn would have been but a prospective mâr-šar Bâbili. Letters cited name Ašurbânipal as already a mâr-šarru, and greet Šamaššumukîn by name only, seemingly pending his elevation. It would seem, then, that in the Nisan following Esarhaddon's death each prince may have been but a mâr-šarru of the empire, and that Šamaššumukîn's actual regal dignity must have begun simultaneously with that of his brother.

Johns notices the proclamation, 83–1–18, 45, issued by Zakûtû, the mother of Esarhaddon, Ašurbânipal, Šamaššumukîn, and Šamašmîtûballiṭ. It declares Ašurbânipal to be the rightful king of Aššûr. Is not Zakûtu, possible queen regent, a "native power" to be reckoned with? And where is the companion document? After the solemn declaration a few months before, would Šamaššumukîn have joined in this proclamation unless another had simultaneously announced his own position? Again, why the emphatic appeal to religion, to ceremonies, oracles, and portents in the preparations of Esarhaddon, when Ašurbânipal had for some time previously been known as mâr-šarru? Clearly, Ašurbânipal's statement about the great assembly in Iyyar is only a half truth, if viewed as coming from a historian of the times, but a whole truth, if Ašurbânipal is only writing personal history; and that is what Assyrian kings really do. It would seem that we must believe that the same solemn oaths that bound the nobles to protect the mâr-šarrûtu of Ašurbânipal, and afterward his kingship of Aššûr, bound them and him to similar obligations in the case of Šamaššumukîn and the two younger brothers. Here is a force Johns does not fully recognize. Ašurbânipal, in L^3, 10, acknowledges that he was bound in this matter by an oath that might not be broken; in VR. III, 77, he also acknowledges his father's command. Maspero (*Passing of Empires*, p. 381) recognizes the power of oaths and oracles. But for his statement that Ašurbânipal proclaimed himself King of Assyria at the same time

that Šamaššumukîn proclaimed himself King of Babylon no proof is given.

Johns' contention that Šamaššumukîn's first regnal year could not be co-incident with Ašurbânipal's (so also Hommel, *DB.*, p. 169) because Bêl-Marduk was captive in Assyria, and the Babylonian king could not there take the hands of Bêl, will not stand. Knudtzon, No. 149, specifically asks "Let Šamaššumukîn take the hands of Bêl" in Aššûr; the very thing Johns and Maspero (*Passing of Empires*, p. 381) think improbable. In citing this document both curiously overlook this precative. In the boundary stone already cited, *AOF.* I, 498, the return of Bêl-Marduk is placed in the reign of Šamaššumukîn. The writer of that document certainly thought the accession of the king antedated the return of Bêl. The Babylonian Chronicle, IV, 35, 36, says, šattu rêš Šamaššumukîn ina araḫ Aarû ^{ilu}Bêl u ilâni ša ^{mât}Akkâdi ultu ^{alu}Aššûr ûṣûnimma ina araḫ Aarû ûm XI ^{kam}ana Bâbili êrubûni. Šamaššumukîn in Stele S^{1} and Cyl. L, 15–17, makes like statements. With these Babylonian claims compare Ašurbânipal's assertion in S^{3}, 36–48, that the return of Bêl occurred in his reign. In L^{4}, II, 26–33, he places it in the very beginning of his reign. He claims Marduk returned at his tearful entreaty. Five lines of prayer to the god are followed by two lines concerning Šamaššumukîn's taking the hands of Bêl; then follow 18 lines vividly portraying the triumphal procession to Babylon. The Assyrian records corroborate the Babylonian. The argument of Johns that Šamaššumukîn's reign must have commenced a year later than his brother's does not seem established. The documents cited apparently indicate simultaneous accession of the brothers, the hands of Bêl being taken in Assyria in accordance with Šamaššumukîn's entreaty to Šamaš (see below). The brothers must have acted in concert in the matter of the return of Bêl; each telling of his own connection with the matter, in the respective inscriptions, and each adding a reference to aḫi'a talîmi'a.

Johns, in citing Knudtzon, No. 149, says: "Ašurbânipal, *already king of Assyria*," in the month Nisan inquires if Šamaššumukîn shall take the hands of Bêl that year. Consequently, Šamaššumukîn could not have become king in the Iyyar in which his brother did. But Ašurbânipal is not mentioned in this document! Neither is the reigning king of Assyria! The inquiry

may have come from the same "committee" that announced Ašurbânipal as the legitimate successor in Aššûr. But if the usual forms of presenting an inquiry be a safe criterion, we should infer that this inquiry is from Šamaššumukîn himself, if we agree that No. 147 is from Ašurbânipal. Each is presented in the normal form: the third person. In Šamaššumukîn's supplication the verbs in the opening sentences are precative; liṣbat, lillik; the following verbs are interrogative; will it be done? It should be noticed that not all of these "Gebete" are from the kings. In Kn. 143, 144, we hear of Ašurbânipal as mâr-šarru ša bît ridûti; in other later ones he is šar Aššûr. Maspero (*Passing of Empires*, p. 381) also overlooks the form of the above-mentioned inquiry of Šamaš, assuming that it was from Ašurbânipal. His statement that the reply was not favorable is mere conjecture; and the statement that Bêl had to be sent to Babylon before Šamaššumukîn could take his hands disregards the above order of events as narrated by Ašurbânipal.

Adding the evidence of the building inscriptions, we find in L^5 and S^1, Šamaššumukîn boasts of the restoration of Êsagila and Êzida, and the re-establishment of the sacrifices. In S^3, L^2, Ašurbânipal claims the credit. Each names his aḫu talîmu in his own inscriptions, and each invokes a curse upon him who shall erase the two names. The statements are in perfect harmony when we remember that an oriental king names the creditable actions in which he participated without stating precisely the part taken by others therein. The two brothers apparently begin their joint reign harmoniously as equals.

The royal titles outside the RFHarper letters give a little light. Šamaššumukîn, in S^1 and L^5, and *AOF.* I, 498, does not accord to his brother the exalted titles given in the same document to Esarhaddon. His own title indicates territorial jurisdiction, as though he were sole authority in Šumer and Akkad. Ašurbânipal, in S^3, revels in all the old titles: šarru rabû, šarru dannu, šar kiššati, šar Aššûr, šar kibrât irbitti, šar šarrâni, rûbû lâ šanân. He rules from the lower sea to the upper sea, and has subdued all princes beneath his feet. In L^2 is the same. But he has waged no campaign; the inscriptions belong to the very beginning of his reign, to the time of the return of Bêl; compare the parallel L^4, IV, I, ina ûmêšuma. The extravagant exordium is merely his indulging in a little idio-

matic Assyrian upon the first occasion that offered, though rûbû lâ šanân might conflict with his brother's claims.

But years later, in the Rassam cylinder, we find him going back to mâr-šarru rabû ša bît-ridûti. Is there a sentiment in the empire against his assumption of old regal dignities? Has the title invented by Esarhaddon, and placed upon the palace at Tarbiṣi, come to have a peculiar force? While each brother was šarru of a territory, was each thought of as only a mâr-šarru of the empire? May we compare the Eastern and Western Cæsars and Augusti of the twin-capitalled Roman Empire? In the course of the royal annals, Ašurbânipal does not employ the old regal titles until the building appendix is reached (X, 57, 58). K. 2867 (SAS. *Abp.* II, I) uses the same phraseology. This and the Nebo and Bêlit inscriptions, II R, 66, celebrate the overthrow of Elam. The two latter call him only šar Aššûr. So do K. 1523 and K. 2652; K. 2674 does so five times. In line 12 it has the boast šar Êlamti. In 69 recur the old regal titles. The colophons of texts in his library usually read: "šar kiššati šar Aššûr." Perhaps we should not make much of this current abandonment of full old regal titles. As "Crown Prince of the Executive Mansion" he would like to have us think his brother merely his deputy; notice the phraseology in S^3, 50–55, L^2, 11–12, and L^3.

We have seen the brothers' references to each other. How did the Babylonians regard them? Did they consider their king as their own, independent, or as one of two co-ordinate overlords? In K. 233, and in H. 702, 81–2–4, 77[4] the Babylonians bring complaints before the king. The second letter shows the king is Šamaššumukîn. The phraseology of direct address throughout, however, is "The kings our lords." Clearly the one king before whom the complaint is laid is the local representative of two co-ordinate rulers, always joined in one phrase.

With this Babylonian view contrast the Assyrian. The division was not universally acceptable to them; this must qualify our estimate of their expressions. Kudurru, governor of Erech, H. 754, K. 5457, reports to Ašurbânipal. The king of Babylon is for him merely Šamaššumukîn. Marduk, in H. 807, Bu. 91–5–9, 90, does likewise. H. 437, K. 168 does the same. We cannot argue from these data with any certainty. Assyrian officers would not be

[4] See "The Semitic City of Refuge" in *The Monist*, October, 1903.

anxious to recognize a king of Babylon, and Ašurbânipal, considering himself the executive officer of the co-partnership, might not be inclined to rebuke such breaches of official etiquette, if breaches they were. But there does not seem to have been personal bitterness between the brothers at first. The policy to which they were sworn was distasteful, but that was all. The numerous votive tablets concerning the conquest of Elam contrast curiously with the reticence upon the subject of the overthrow of Šamaššumukîn.

The qualifying phrase, bît-ridûti, or bît-kutalli, may be noticed. Its meaning is not precisely determined. The great pre-Sargonid kings boast of their building operations, but the royal habitation is put before us as "a stately pleasure house." Sterner necessities, arsenals and armories, are not emphasized. But Sennacherib, Taylor prism VI, 28 *sqq.*, tells of rebuilding a great arsenal, or armory, an êkal kutalli. As it was too small, he tore it down, and rebuilt it on a new site, ana šutêšûr ṣalmât ḳaḳḳâdê, the storing of war munitions, and "my royal abode."

Esarhaddon, Cyl. A, IV, 49 *sqq.*, rebuilds this êkallu maḫirte, emphasizing its use as an arsenal, VI, 46 *sqq.*, and as a royal abode, V, 29.

Ašurbânipal calls the great structure built by Sennacherib a bît-ridûti, VR. X, 51 *sqq.* It was built by Sennacherib as his royal abode; thus Ašurbânipal corroborates his grandfather's statement. In I, 27, we observe that Esarhaddon was born there; in X, 59, that Ašurbânipal was also. The latter remodels the structure in his turn, calling it still bît-ridûti and emphasizing its military aspects; in I, 34 he mentions his own military training, acquired within its precincts. It is the markas šarrûti, in I, 24, "the bond of the empire"—its very life. In L', II, 4, bît-ridûti is ašar milki u ṭême, "the place of consultation and news." Two lines further, the ḳanni ceremony (?) took place within it. Compare the Rassam cylinder, I, 23, where it is bît-ridûti, as against êkallu in the L' passage.

All of the emphasis of the Sargonids is upon the administrative purposes of bît-ridûti. Successive enlargements of this group of government buildings are to meet the administrative necessities. "Harem" and "government building" are equally plausible from the etymological standpoint. Choice between them

should then depend upon the evidence as to the purpose of, or the ideas associated with, the structure. We may notice Sargonid usage also in Esarhaddon, B, II, 24: mât tâmtim ana siḫirtiša ridût aḫišu ušadgil panuššu. "Harem" is not possible here. We may question if Esarhaddon's great dedicatory feast or the solemn proclamation-assembly in Iyyar would be held in a harem. Further, Šamaššumukîn was as much a son of Esarhaddon's "harem" as Ašurbânipal was; yet the title mâr-šarru rabû ša bît-ridûti, mâr-šarru ša bît-ridûti, or mâr-šarru ša kutalli, belongs only to the latter. We may suggest "Executive Mansion" as an approximate translation; and we can understand that, if Ašurbânipal could not claim to be "king of all kings, king without a rival," as Esarhaddon was, he would at least emphasize the fact that he was war-lord of the empire, controlling the great central arsenal; that he was "Crown Prince of the Executive Mansion."[5]

It appears, then, that mâr-šarru, or mâr-šarru rabû, meant for the Sargonids the designated successor, as contrasted with other sons of the king. With the later Sargonids, mâr-šarru ša bît ridûti, or kutalli, distinguished the ruler at the northern capital from his confrère at the southern. Only Nineveh has a bît ridûti. We have compared the two mâr-šarru titles to the Augustus and Cæsar dignities of the later Roman empire; and we have on record a dispute between two court ladies about precedence which might support the view that, so far as the entire empire was concerned, Ašurbânipal was held to be legitimately only a mâr-šarru ša bît ridûti; that his later claim upon the old titles was regarded by some as usurpation, or disregard of his oath. For some discussion of this letter H. 308, K. 1619*b*, see Johnston, *JAOS.*, 1899, pp. 244 *sqq.*

"Message of the Princess to Ašur-šarrat: Thou dost not properly address thy letter to me, nor dost thou mention thine own title. Will not people say, This lady is the peer of Šêrû'a-êṭerat, the Princess Royal, daughter of Ašur-etil-ilâni-ukînnî, the great king, the mighty king, the universal king, the king of Assyria? And thou art only the daughter of the daughter-in-law of the wife of Ašurbânipal, the Crown Prince of the Executive Mansion, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria."

[5] Delitzsch connects kutallu with Hebrew כחל, Arabic كتل. Shall we understand it as referring to the concentration of military stores? Did the city Ku-ta-al-la^{ki} in *LIH.* 47, derive its name from its being an arsenal city?

Šêrû'a-êṭerat claims for herself the title she concedes Ašurbânipal. Ašur-etil-ilâni we know was succeeded by his brother. Had he really designated his daughter as his successor? We may recall the prestige of Šammurâmit, the Semiramis of the Greeks; Esarhaddon's appointment of Tabûa, a lady brought up at his court, as ruler of an Arabian kingdom (cyl. A. III, 13 *sqq.*); and the frequent occurrence of šakintu, or lady šaknu, in the contract literature. Compare also "the year when the king raised Nikis-midašu, the daughter of the king, to rulership over Marḫaši" (Radau, *EBH.* 257; Scheil, *Rec. Trav.*, XIX, 55). On *EBH.*, p. 186, Radau translates a tablet of a princess "a glorious one," who makes a votive offering of a mace for the welfare of her father.

The term mâr-šarru occurs in two or three other places in the Sargonid letters. In H. 466, S. 51, we hear of mâr-šar ^{mât} An-di-a-a. In H. 633, K. 1366, obv. 16, we have ardâni ša zinnisat êkal mâr-šarri. The former is irrelevant to our inquiry; the latter, in a badly broken letter, affords no information.

What were the motives for Esarhaddon's policy? It has been thought that he was predisposed in Babylon's favor, or Šamaš-šumukîn's, and that a modification of his first plans in their favor was forced at the last. So Winckler, *AOF.* I, p. 415. The data we have reviewed render this supposed order of events improbable; further, a disturbance powerful enough to force Šamaššumukîn out of the destined kingship of Aššûr might well have forced him out of all authority whatsoever. We may revert to the tremendous religious influences brought to bear by Esarhaddon. The problem of sacred asylum cities was a serious one for the Assyrian kings.[6] We know of their alternate revocation and restoration of sacred privileges; their consecration and confiscation of temple lands. We hear of Sargon, probably an usurper, coming to the front with a restoration of the sacred privileges of Ḫarran and Aššûr (cyl. 5 and 6), which had been set aside by Šalmaneser IV. Babylon was but one item in a great problem; and we must add to the elevation of Šamaššumukîn to the kingship of Karduniaš, Ašurbânipal's statement L^3, 12, 13, that two other brothers were placed at the head of two great sacred cities. Probably we should consider this done at the

[6] See article, "The Semitic City of Refuge," *The Monist*, October, 1905.

command of Esarhaddon, for the preceding statement about the oath exacted by Esarhaddon that might not be broken fairly introduces the honors of all three brothers. We may recognize an effort to solve the conflict between the secular power and the surviving privileged cities by placing members of his family in the four great official positions, and binding all with solemn oaths. It was as futile as similar efforts made by Egyptian kings.

THE ḲÊPU.

Maspero (*Dawn of Civilization*, p. 675) thinks this officer a mere temple official. Johns *ABLCL.*, p. 213, expresses the same opinion. The data available render this untenable. A temple could have a ḳêpu, as in Johns *ADD.*, No. 50, K.336, line 9; but in line 10 the tartan has a ḳêpu; in line 8 is a ḳepu of the new palace. In Nbk. 460 we have a ḳêpu of the city of Raḫza. Such passages are numerous and show that the term ḳêpu expresses only the function of the officer, suggesting nothing as to the person or institution to which he was attached.

He becomes especially important for us when he appears as a royal official in subject provinces, where interference with the religious institutions of the nation is improbable. In VR. I. 58 and 110–11 Ašurbânipal speaks of ki-e-pa-ni ša ki-rib Muṣur u-pa-ki-du abu ba-nu-u-a; in II, 32, of šarrâni paḫâte ki-pa-a-ni ša ki-rib Mu-ṣur aš-ku-nu. We can hardly think these important deputies were temple attendants of any kind. In Assyria the ḳêpu may often have been the chief official of a city.[1] Ašurbânipal, VR. VI, 83, also speaks of ki-pa-a-ni of cities of Elam. In 81–6–25, Nbk., 109, we have ki-i-pi ša mât tâmtim and a ki-i-pi ša a-ḫu-ul-la-'a.

Again, the ḳêpu is an important factor in political disturbances in Assyria and Babylonia. In H. 542, K. 114, the ḳêpâni of Bît-Dakkûri are abroad on a raid, and the ḳêpu of the beleaguered Bâb-Bitka appeals to Sargon for help, asking that the šaknu bring troops. We might infer that the ḳêpu is not himself in command of troops; that his functions are not military.

The ḳêpu is not frequent in the RFHarper letters. In addition to the case just cited, we may notice H. 437, K. 168, rv. 9. Order is being restored in Akkad; the šatammê and ḳêpâni

[1] Delitzsch, *BAS.* II, 36, reads EN.ÉR.MES as ḳêpâni, not bêl-alâni, in H. 88, K. 507; S. A. Smith reads it ḫâzânâte; (so also Delitzsch, *AL.* 1, No. 69; Brünnow 2826. These only show uncertainty as to the precise character of the officer known as "the lord of a town").

are in much fear of the king. In H. 442, K. 543, the ki-ba-a-ni whom the king has appointed at Aššûr have . . . . šê nu-sa-hi, šê ši-ib-še i-šab-bu-u. This handling of royal grain is significant. In H. 524, K. 588, news from Nabû-ukannik is given, "not as Nabû-ukannik wrote it, but as his ki-pa-nu wrote it." In H. 214, K. 831, a ḳêpu is in charge of the city Ḫamû; acting as a paḫâtu? In H. 95, K. 1151, the ḳêpu of Zibte with some other officials and fifty laborers (?) is asked for. A šatammu, ki-e-pu, and a dupšarru are mentioned in a broken letter about some gold, H. 476, 83–1–18, 5. Some ḳêpu of Dêri has called for 2000 soldiers (or workmen?) for ḫalṣu cities, in H. 868, 81–2–4, 119. Three or four broken passages yield no information, showing merely the title. In none do we hear of a ḳêpu in a private or unofficial relation. These various data do not permit us to rest with the theory of a mere temple official, nor can we maintain that the ḳêpu is always a government official.

Johns is surely correct, in *ADD.* II, p. 85, in his discussion of the first eight lines of col. III, K. 4395. As the first is the ^{amêl} ki-e-pu, the second the ^{amêl}TIL.GID-da, also known to be the ḳêpu, and the seventh the ^{amêl}NI.GAB, usually read ḳêpu, he conjectures that the intervening four may represent phases of the ḳêpu's functions. Yet with these hints he does not seem to have clearly comprehended them, conjecturing a rural magistrate as distinguished from an urban one. Magisterial functions are unproven by our data. Later in *ABLCL.*, Johns conjectured a temple functionary.

The seven titles referred to are, ^{1amêl}ki-e-pu, ^{2amêl}TIL.GID-da, ^{3amêl}rab irrišê, ^{4amêl}rab ḫalṣu, ^{5amêl}rab birtê, ^{6amêl}rab imêr u-rât, ^{7amêl}NI.GAB. If these are developments from the primitive function we should be interested in determining what that was. Johns' theory of a rural magistrate will not explain it, nor harmonize with the occasional appearance of the ḳêpu in connection with a temple or as the agent of a private individual.

The first ideogram above, ^{amêl}TIL.GID-da, is also written TIL-la GID-da, H. 542, K. 114, obv. 8; TI-la GID-da, MEŠ, Str. Nbd. No. 637, 8, or TI-la MEŠ, *Str.* Nbd. 102. In the salutations we meet the phrase ûmê TI-la GID-da or TIL-la GID-da, "days of long life; also GID-da ûmê,

H. 736, K. 1030, obv. 6. The amêl TIL-la GID-da would then appear to be "the man who prolongs life." Winckler, *AOF.* II, p. 12, collates K. 3500, K. 444, K. 10235. Esarhaddon is cursing the rebels of Egypt, Philistia, and Phœnicia. In lines 11, 12, "May thy life . . . . and letters which I have sent thee for a living from the ḳêpu thou shalt not . . . . If the ḳêpu is not gracious, thou shalt see his face, thou shalt break into weeping, not by their means (shalt thou prevail?)." The fragment at least suggests that indigent persons might be recommended to the ḳêpu, or appeal to him for sustenance.

The third title above is "chief of the farmers." This idea connects well with the preceding one. Compare Gen. 47:14–26. The Hebrew tradition makes Joseph to be born under Babylonian law in the province of Ḫarran, and to introduce into Egypt a land system whereby the tillable soil falls largely into the hands of the king, as in modern Turkey, and the hands of the priests. The system is based upon a distribution of fortified store cities. The bankrupt farmer secures cattle, seed, and provisions from the royal agents. The live stock is largely owned by the government. The historicity of the narrative, or the antiquity of the system in Egypt, does not here concern us. It suffices that such a system was known to the Hebrew, was considered due to a former Babylonian subject, and that Joseph's function was "to preserve life;" Gen. 45:5; 47:25. Zaphnath-paaneah has sometimes been thought to be a corruption of some god's name + "let there be life."

We may include in the comparison now the rab ḫalṣê, rab birtê, and rab urâte; they would be readily explicable from the preceding suggestions as developments of the ḳêpu. We may notice Nbk. 460; Nadinu says, "My lord, thou knowest that for seeds to the ḳêpu of Raḫza I sent, and money for the seeds I gave him." The ḳêpu of Ḫararâte sends a supply of domestic animals to Sennacherib, Taylor Prism, I, 52 *sqq.* How important these distributed store cities would be, in peace and in war, needs no minute discussion. They were at all times the life of pauperized masses; and necessarily strong cities as well as store cities, *cf.* Exod. 1:11. The overseer of such was not necessarily magistrate or military officer. But he was required to be a capable man of business, and a methodical accountant. We have already noticed the ḳêpu's connection with the ḫalṣu, and a requisition

for workmen for such cities, in H. 868. The famous Nabû-bêl-šumâte is a ḳêpu in Taylor Prism I, 52, and is ḳêpu of an ^{alu}birât in H. 88, K. 507. We may add that the salutations in H. 247, K. 1027, suggest that an ^{alu}birât was not identical with "garrison city," repetition not being the rule in salutations. Compare Br. 1562: bi-ra-ti=ki-ru-u, "grove, orchard."

Various cuneiform inscriptions speak of such stores, or store cities. Ḫammurabi, Prologue III, 18 *sqq.*, extends the tillable land of Dilbat, and heaps up stores of grain for Uraš. Similar corn stores are mentioned by Gudea. Sargon, Cyl, 37–42, mentions his similar efforts. His uniform prices, we may be sure, could not be maintained unless the government itself were in the market, with ample granaries. "The king's price" appears also in the Code of Ḫammurabi, § 51.

Joseph's system would not only make him "the chief farmer" of Egypt, but also chief of the royal stud and herds, and hence the employment of his brothers as subagents. So, in the titles discussed, a rab urâte would be a logical development of an expanding system; we find him immediately after the rab birtê. Nabûšumiddin in the RFHarper letters is the chief of the king's stud, reporting regularly arrivals of horses, detailing variety, condition, training, etc. In H. 557, K. 893, some one complains of him for having exacted from the servants of the king from the fields of the birtê ali provisions in excess of the royal orders. Thus the rab urâte and the ḳêpu seem connected by occasional references with the ^{alu}ḫalṣê and ^{alu}birâte. In *LIH.* 56, 88, ṣâb birti of a city are mentioned, in connection with grain to be furnished them. Add the letters of Ḫammurabi concerning his cattle (King, *LIH.*), and the royal herd accounts in the E. A. Hoffman collection (Radau, *EBH.*); compare Mesha, king of Moab "a sheepmaster." In Camb. 194, the ^{amêl}TIL.la GID.da of Êbabbara, is the proper person to receive 200 geese for the temple. It seems that he lets out 50 "mother geese," requiring a return of 200 geese within the year. For the seizure of choice animals by royal agents, compare Neb. I, col. I, 51 *sqq.*; contrast 1 Sam. 8:15–17; 12:3.

That such agents were equally important in the management of temple property, or that of individuals, is apparent at sight. The temple stores are well described by Johns, *ABLCL.*, 211 *sqq.* In 82–7–4, 13, we have a single page of a ḳêpu's account book.

Pinches (*BOR.* II, 143) thought it a list of "gifts to a house of God." Its meaning is clearer today. Of 765 measures of grain borrowed, only 150 were returned directly to the ḳêpu; the rest was delivered at his order to various other parties. In H. 516, 81–27, 31, is the only passage in the RFHarper letters connecting a ḳêpu with temples: "Nabû-aḫê-iddin the ḳêpu of Êsagila, I have put in charge of the revenues of all the temples round about Babylon." Clearly he is not the servitor of some god, but a capable business manager, handling temple magazines and lands as royal ones were handled.

Taxes being largely paid in kind, we can understand the necessity of Assyrian ḳêpâni in Egypt, not as tax collectors, but as guardians of the store system upon which the farmer's ability to pay taxes depended. The ḳêpu in the land of Elam was probably called a šarnuppu; see H. 281, K. 13.[2] Nabû-bêl-šumâte, once a ḳêpu in Babylonia, is in Elam dealing with a similar custodian of stores.

1 Kings 4:26–28; 9:15–19; 10:26; 1 Chron. 27:25–31; 2 Chron. 9:5–12 tell of similar developments in Israel, probably adopted from the Canaanites. Whether or not they existed in Canaan before the domination of Babylonia, about 2100 B. C., is yet to be determined. Vast subterranean storehouses have been found at Tell Zakariyeh and elsewhere (*PEFSt.*, 1899). Neh. 6:1–13 and Is. 5:8 are worthy of note. The last passage may recall the contrast between the small amounts of money or produce mentioned in contracts of the first empire and the enormous quantities named in contracts of the Persian period. The small land owner may have become extinct in Babylonia. (*Cf.* 1 Sam. 8:14.) We do not yet know that the Israelite store cities were administered like those of Egypt or Babylonia. The numerous loans without interest from stores in Babylonia may have been to persons who were renting land from the lender. Joseph's tenants of royal lands pay a rental of one-fifth the crop, which recalls a common rate of interest in Babylonia. That royal lands and temple lands were handled upon the same basis of valuation may be indicated by the frequent dedication of lands to the temples. The tenants apparently but changed landlords, paying the temple what they formerly paid the king. Compare 1 Sam. 8:15, 17 with Lev. 27:30; see Ezra 7:20–27, and Eze-

[2] Treated by Johnston, *AEL.*, p. 139, and Van Gelderen, *BAS.*, IV, 257.

kiel's endowment scheme, 45. A comparison of Br. 6475, 6499, 6513, shows the ideogram for zakû used to express "tithe," or tenth. The "dedicated land" paid the same rate in Assyria that was customary in Israel. How old the system was that put the cultivation of the temple lands out of the hands of the priests themselves we do not know. The Code of Ḫammurabi, §§ 178, 182, suggests that it may have existed then. In *LIH.*, No. 38, a patesi is transferred from the service of one man to that of another; and the new employer is reminded that he is responsible for the management of the patesi's field. Yet in 83–1–18, 264, Nbd. 934, a šangû of Sippara loans temple corn. Probably this implies that the temple was temporarily without a business manager. Compare Neh. 13 : 10 *sqq.*

An ideogram for ḳêpu not found in K. 4395 is AL-la GID-da, Brünnow, 5752; suggestive of TIL-la GID-da. But instead of "lengthening life" this would seem to indicate "to lengthen or foster agriculture." For Brünnow, 5750, shows, GIS.AL = GIS.APIN; 5771, AL.DI = erešu; 5758, ^{amêl} AL.AG.A is rapîku. This word Delitzsch (*HWB.*, 626) allies with šakâku, "to plough or harrow;" *cf.* CH., col. XIII, 14, 29, and sikki, "a plough," in modern Arabic in Syria. Brünnow, 5772, GIS.SA.AL.HAB is alluḫappu or šaḳḳu ša šê'im, "grain sack." The agricultural associations of AL are marked. This new ideogram "fosterer of agriculture (?)" recalls the rab irrišê in the K. 4395 series.

This connection of the ḳêpu with the agricultural interests of the country in all its phases, and his importance when supervising temple or government lands, suggests some possibilities relative to early Sumerian kings. ^{amêl} APIN, respectfully addressed in some RFHarper letters, might be a title for the king himself. In the EAH. collection (Radau, *EBH.*), are very old accounts of royal agents. In some of these the king seems to be called "farmer." PA.LUGAL.ENGAR in EAH. 34, Radau reads "overseer of royal shepherds" (*EBH.* p. 379); but ENGAR is usually read "farmer" and is in the adjective position, making one think of "officer of the farmer king." Compare also EAH. 25; the oxen accounted for to the farmer king are specifically "plough oxen." Such "Farmer king" as title may be compared with the Hindoo Gai-kwar or "Cowherd" of Baroda. Notice also Brünnow 3819–21; ^{amêl} AB may be either

"farmer, prince, or elder;" suggesting a time when princes were farmers. Those believing the Sumerians to be Mongols may recall that the Chinese Emperor, the "Son of Heaven" still plows at an annual agricultural ceremony. Again, UR-Ningirsu (Arad-Ninib?) name of an early king, is simply irrišu or ikkaru, Br. 11267. Literally it is "servant of Ningirsu," who is Ninib, Br. 10996, the NIN.APIN, Br. 11007, or DINGIR.APIN, Br. 1020, or "lord of dates," Br. 767. Radau (*EBH.* 23) quotes Bur-Sin, the SIB.SAG or "chief shepherd" of Nippur, and ENGAR.LIG.GA of Ur; "mighty farmer" instead of Radau's "powerful shepherd" seems natural. Invocations of Nisaba, the "harvest-goddess," by the early Babylonian rulers, are to be considered. Against such Sumerian ideas set the Semitic preference for "faithful shepherd," familiar in royal inscriptions from Ḫammurabi onward. Yet the older view does not wholly disappear: Babylonian kings boast the title of "cultivator of the sacred tree;" Nebuchadnezzar II. calls himself "Farmer of Babylon." Hence ^{amêl}APIN might be a royal title in some RFHarper letters. In the collision of agriculturists of the river valleys (see TIK.EN-na) and Semitic shepherds of the highlands, it has been suggested that we might find a basis for legends like that of Cain and Abel.

These accounts of royal plough cattle, of temple stores, and granaries of the gods, let us understand that a ḳêpu would be needed by every large landholder, sacred or secular. Four sections of the Code of Ḫammurabi, 253–56, deal with this system of farming. The data above concerning AL and the ḳêpu suggest "means of cultivation" as the meaning of the ideogram AL.KAK.A (erêšu + epêšu). Such means our various citations have shown to be cattle, seed, and sustenance while raising a crop. "Implements," as Johns translates, is too restricted. Yet tools were sometimes supplied. In 82–9–18, 116, Str. Cyr. 26, a wealthy contractor, Sulâ, leases 60 gur of land from the ki-i-pi of Êbabbara, and is furnished with 12 oxen, 8 irrišê, or cultivators, 3 iron ploughshares, 4 hoes, and 5 appâta of corn for seed, for support of the irrišê, and for provender for the cattle. The renter guarantees the temple 300 gur of corn. Tools probably came from the šutummu, or "storehouse" of the temple, supervised by the šatammu. Observe the ša-tam bît unâti, or "keeper of the tool house,"

in Boundary Stone 103, Col. IV, 9. This assistant of the ḳêpu and TU.bîti frequently occurs; notice the amêlšá-tam amêl TU.bîti ilu Marduk in V. A. 451, KB. IV, p. 152. ŠÁ. GAL in the sections of the Code is, as Johns translates, "provender" (Br. 8051, ukullu; see *HWB.*), rather than "growing plants" (RFHarper). Compare K. 2867, 27; ukulti alpê ṣêni. In EAH. 1 (*EBH.*, p. 323), we have "10 gur grain of the king for one (?) gur copper, as provender for the cattle." (*Cf.* II R. 39, 54, c. d.) In EAH. 5 (*EBH.* 324) we again have ukullu as food. The four sections of the Code are valuable as showing the indigence of the man who was dependent upon the ḳêpu system of farming. Men financially responsible, §§ 42–65, make compensation or restitution for their delinquencies. In the ḳêpu system the Code apparently assumes that the delinquent has nothing wherewith to repay, and punishes him, for a minor offense, by mutilation; for total delinquency he is torn to pieces by oxen (Johns, *DB.* V, 607). Such punishment may indicate that those dependent upon the ḳêpu may have belonged largely to the politically inferior muškênu class. We have therein some suggestion as to the hard lot of the man who should, according to Esarhaddon's wish, find the ḳêpu in a bad humor.

No English word seems to me to exactly express the meaning of the word ḳêpu. As the agent of private parties he is nearly the "factor" of the English landholder; but as supervisor of government stores or temple revenues he has not his equivalent in western civilization though remotely suggesting the Indian agent of the American Indian reservations. I prefer to leave the term untranslated.

The ideogram NI.GAB is often translated "porter." As a name for the ḳêpu, it may go back to the primitive custodian or "doorkeeper" of communal granaries. A Nabû-bêl-šumâte is a NI.GAB in Johns' *ADD.* 9, line 14. A rab NI.GAB.MEŠ occurs in *ADD.* No. 150, line 6.

VITA.

I was born in Cooper County, Missouri, on the twenty-first of November, 1864, the oldest son of Rev. William C. Godbey, a minister of the Methodist-Episcopal Church, South. My preparatory and classical training was received under home instruction, while I acted as tutor for my younger brothers. I entered Morrisville Institute in September, 1879, receiving the degree of A.M. from that institution in June, 1883. During the succeeding nineteen years I was constantly employed in teaching, journalism, and pastoral work, my leisure being occupied with historical and linguistic studies, and the preparation of some volumes of a popular character. Having given special attention to Semitic studies, I entered the University of Chicago in the summer of 1902, and was appointed Fellow in Semitics. This rank I held three years, receiving the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in June, 1905.

While a student at the University I attended the courses of President William R. Harper, and Professors Robert F. Harper, Ira M. Price, H. L. Willett, Shailer Mathews, J. R. Jewett, and the late George S. Goodspeed. To all of these, but pre-eminently to the first, my thanks are due, and my indebtedness is hereby gratefully acknowledged. However, for the results of this investigation and the views here expressed I alone am responsible.